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THE
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OF
HISTORY AND POLITICS

JOHN ELY BRIGGS

EDITOR

RUTH A. GALLAHER

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

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THIS IOWA*

In 1946 Iowa will celebrate the centennial anniversary of its admission into the Union. Without any desire to be flippant, we may well ask "What of it?" For when all is said and done, the passing of one hundred years is, of itself, no credit to an individual or a community, no cause for a celebration. Time moves on inexorably, taking no account of good or evil, peace or war, joy or sorrow, plenty or want, kindness or cruelty, knowledge or ignorance, life or death.

The Moving Finger writes; and having writ,
Moves on: nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.

What has the moving finger of time written about Iowa? What part has this Commonwealth had in the large pattern of history? What kind of people have lived in Iowa and why did they come here? What has this State contributed to the world in the way of food and the other things that mean comfort and sustenance for common folks? How has life in Iowa depended upon the means of transportation and communication? What weight has Iowa had in the balance of intersectional power within the United States? What have Iowans contributed in the way of ideals, art, literature, tolerance, kindness, charity, all the things that contribute to civilized living. For what is Iowa significant?

Let us think of the past, which is history, and the present, which is life, as a huge tapestry made up of many overlap-

*This paper, in a shorter form, was originally presented before a meeting of the American Association of University Women at Cedar Rapids on September 28, 1938, under the title "The Significance of the First Hundred Years of Iowa". Some recent material has been added.

ping designs, some large, some small. Often those who work upon the larger pictures never see the entire canvas at any time and the workers are unequally skilled, so that the patterns are often distorted. To trace these large motifs requires both perspective and a keen eye; small designs are easily lost in the details of the larger pattern.

And so this tapestry which we call history or life is to some people merely a jumbled mass of details; to others it is a small design with which they are personally familiar. To some it is very small — we call them egotists. Some look beyond but are confused by the overlapping of designs and the repetition of motifs, unable to pick out the interlocking patterns. Only those whose eyes can follow the large designs spread out before them and at the same time see the smaller patterns can fully enjoy the thrill of history and of life.

In America, the States are the frames for small designs which fit within their boundaries. But they are also parts of many larger patterns which are spread upon the nation and the world. Occasionally some motif begins or ends within the area of a State, but branches out beyond it. Here and there are motifs reproduced from other States or from the old world. State history is difficult to write because of the interweaving of these motifs. State boundaries may impair our comprehension of the larger design, but each Commonwealth also presents some characteristic picture of its own, some variation in color, something that reveals the vision of the artists who outlined the design and the skill of the workers who wrought the details.

The present-day life which goes on within a State is equally difficult to describe because of overlapping interests. Iowa grows corn, much corn, but corn is also grown in Ohio and in Mexico. Men and women born and educated in Iowa work in New York, in California, or in China. Cat-

tle raised in Argentina compete in the markets of the world with cattle from the feed lots of Iowa farms.

We think of Iowa and see a picture of peaceful, industrious people, busy about the work of every-day life, furnishing food for the hungry; then suddenly a larger pattern stands out before our eyes, a world bestridden by dictators, and Iowa youths come forth from farm and school to drill in training camps, their selection supervised by Clarence A. Dykstra, a graduate of the State University of Iowa. Admiral William D. Leahy, born in Hampton, Iowa, speeds across the Atlantic to represent the United States government at Vichy, France. To present the history and the life of a State one must point out all these patterns, not one alone, the parts of the large designs as well as the small and more complete picture framed by the boundaries of the Commonwealth.

IOWA BECOMES AMERICAN

Among the larger patterns of which Iowa has been a part is the occupation of central North America by the United States. Here is indeed a design of world-wide pattern, with a background which includes most of the nations of Europe. How did this Iowaland happen to become part of the United States? How did it happen that we speak English here instead of French or Spanish? For Spain, France, and England each had a vision of empire which would have included this fertile Mississippi Valley.

Iowa lay almost in the center of this vast empire cradled between the Allegheny and the Rocky Mountains. For centuries her land lay fallow, bearing year after year the luxuriant grasses on which fed the wild game which supplied the few Indian occupants with food. Here and there archaeologists of today find the remains of the Indian villages and hundreds of mounds mark the burial places of the pre-

historic inhabitants. These Indians never heard that Columbus had crossed the ocean, but decade after decade the white men drew closer.

In 1673, a French explorer and a French Jesuit priest stepped on the soil of Iowa. In 1682 Robert Cavelier de la Salle raised the golden lilies of France over the Mississippi Valley and named it Louisiana. But France, weakened by political corruption which was to kindle the French Revolution, lost her chance of an American empire which might so easily have included Iowa. Facing defeat at the hands of her bitter rival, England, France ceded western Louisiana to Spain in 1762. A year later the area east of the Mississippi fell to England. But the Spanish Empire had dissipated its strength in its cruel search for gold and in religious persecution. It had no settlers to fill the prairies of Iowa. South America, Mexico, the lands encircling the Gulf of Mexico had swallowed them up. Three land grants to three French-Canadians — Julien Dubuque, Basil Giard, and Louis Honoré Tesson — were the only evidences of the Spanish occupation of Iowa.

Then came the events of 1776 and 1783; a new nation took its place in the area between the Atlantic and the Mississippi. Two decades later the United States offered to buy New Orleans still held by the Spanish although it had been receded to France. Napoleon was then at the height of his power but his navy had been all but annihilated by the British. Full well he knew that he could not hold Louisiana if the British chose to take it and to the surprise (and dismay) of the American envoys, who had been sent to France to purchase New Orleans, he offered to sell the entire area of Louisiana — the Mississippi Valley west of the river. The mine was for sale as well as the gem. They hesitated, but finally accepted. The price — a little more than \$15,000,000 — made the transaction probably the greatest bar-

gain in history. The timid objected. How could the country wag such a tail as that, asked the students of Williams College? But Jefferson and the American people were willing to take the chance.

And so Iowaland, the pawn of European nations, became part of the United States and was included in the greatest sweep of occupation the world has ever known. Before the details of one design could be filled in, a new pattern was outlined. It was a moving picture and few there were who visioned what the final design was to be. No one had time to look for it. But from the perspective of more than a century we can see the threads that connected Iowaland with the succession to the throne of Austria (in 1762) and the bid of Napoleon for world dominion.

Louisiana in 1803 was, for the most part, a broad and unknown wilderness, peopled by Indians. It belonged to the United States. Was it to become American in fact? The answer came speedily.

From the settlements along the Atlantic Coast where a handful of Europeans fleeing from oppression and persecution fought for a foothold in scattered communities, from the thirteen States that boldly launched the Constitution on the troubled waters of world affairs in 1789, the tide of settlers swept westward, across the Appalachian barriers, down into the level, fertile valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. Call the roll of the new States in this period — Kentucky, 1792; Tennessee, 1796; Ohio, 1803; Louisiana, 1812; Indiana, 1816; Illinois, 1818; Missouri, 1821; Arkansas, 1836; Michigan, 1837. So ran the roll.

By 1830 this *blitz* settlement had reached the banks of the Mississippi opposite the Iowa area. Soon ferries were busy transporting pioneers to the Black Hawk Purchase. Before Iowa became a State, the Mexican War had begun and in 1849 the cry, "Gold, Gold", was heard on the Pacific

slope. By sea and land the argonauts hastened to California, many of them crossing Iowa. When California became a State in 1850 the United States spanned the the continent and when on May 10, 1869, the driving of the golden spike marked the completion of the railroad to the Pacific, the union of the East and West was assured. So far as America was concerned Kipling was wrong.

These pictures were outlined in long, sweeping strokes. Destiny was the artist, a continent furnished the canvas. Seeing Iowa as almost the center of this picture no one can say that this State, land of farms, of middle-class Americans, of peace and plenty, though it be, lacks romance in its past.

HOMELESS INDIANS

Nor was Iowa lacking in pathos, in the tragedy of people dispossessed. Here we see worked out a picture that was repeated again and again from the Atlantic to the Pacific — the passing of the Indian. A little more than one hundred years ago, Black Hawk died in southeastern Iowa. As chief of the Sauk Indians he had led a hopeless fight against the intrusion of the white settlers into Saukenuk on the Rock River. The bones of his followers whitened the trail in Illinois and Wisconsin and their blood actually reddened the waters of the Bad Axe and the Mississippi, but it was land in Iowa which paid the price of resistance — the Black Hawk Purchase of 1832 which on June 1, 1833, opened Iowa to white settlers. Within twenty years after the Black Hawk Purchase the Winnebago had been moved to Iowa and then, in a sorrowful and defiant convoy had gone on to Minnesota; the Sioux withdrew to the northwestern plains; the Pottawattamie, the Sauk and Fox, and the Ioway suddenly continued their march to the treeless plains of Kansas.

Most of these tribes had come to Iowa unwillingly, just

ahead of the white settlers, but they desired to remain here and were pushed out only by superior power. Little of their culture was preserved, but here and there we recognize Indian names — Iowa, Oskaloosa, Wapello, Mahaska, Anamosa, and Wapsipinicon.

No better farewell could have been voiced for the Indians of Iowa than that of Poweshiek, speaking near the site of Iowa City on the Fourth of July, 1838: “Soon I shall go to a new home and you will plant corn where my dead sleep. Our towns, the paths we have made, and the flowers we love will soon be yours. I have moved many times and have seen the white man put his feet in the tracks of the Indian and make the earth into fields and gardens. I know that I must go away and you will be so glad when I am gone that you will soon forget that the meat and the lodge-fire of the Indian have been forever free to the stranger and that at all times he has asked for what he has fought for, the right to be free.”

The last picture of the Indians in Iowa reveals between three and four hundred of the Sauk and Fox living on some 3300 acres of land in Tama County (named for Taimah, a chief of the Ioway Indians). The tribesmen went to Kansas in 1845 under compulsion of the treaty of 1842, but Kansas was no substitute for Iowa. Small groups returned to the old haunts. They observed that when the white men bought their farms, no one could remove them. Of all the white man's way of life, this appealed to them. From their annuities still received in payment of the cessions of their tribal lands, they saved enough at various times to buy the tracts of land they now own. For years the Federal government tried to compel the children to attend the school provided for them free of cost, but the Indians resisted stubbornly. Now these Indians vote and some of the children attend the public schools. Not long ago these Indian

Iowans had as their guests at the annual pow wow some three hundred white children, inmates of the Juvenile Home at Toledo. Time has done what force failed to do. These Iowa survivors of the once warlike tribes are now only tragic reminders of the past, typical of the fate of the Indians across the continent.

THE MARCH OF THE SETTLERS

Two threads have been woven into the pattern of all history; two magnets have beckoned men on to conquest—the gleam of yellow metal and the desire to possess land. Iowa had no gold, but it offered lead and land, almost for the taking. There were scattered Indian tribes on the land, but the defeat of Tecumseh and Black Hawk had broken their spirit. Their claims might delay but could not halt the march of the pioneers.

The panorama of the westward movement of the American pioneers included Iowa. Typical of the self-reliant, individualistic settlers who made the pattern of American life as it spread across the continent were these Iowa pioneers, but they also wove a pattern of their own. In the foreground were the trappers and fur-traders, men dressed in deerskin or homespun, armed with muskets and hunting knives. Some of them were accompanied by Indian wives. Upon their heels came the actual settlers with their plows and wagons and oxen. In the wagons were women and children. These settlers came as individuals, inspired by hopes of bettering their lot; they did not wait for assistance or encouragement from the government. Many of them had been bred on the frontier, children of pioneers. They had heard or read that the land beyond the Mississippi was fertile and the climate healthful. They did not doubt the report of the “spies” and they did not delay. As water spreads rapidly over level land, so they overran the prai-

ries and valleys of Iowa. And Iowa had been a State almost ten years before the railroads brought settlers to her borders.

Remarkable indeed was the rapidity of the occupation of Iowa land. How much the settlers outran the government is illustrated by the story of the purchase of Keokuk's reserve in 1836. Following the sale Governor Henry Dodge addressed a few paternal admonitions to the chiefs and braves, urging them to move their families from the tract within a month to make room for the whites.

The Indians received this advice with loud haw haws. Later one of them explained to the Governor: "My father, we have to laugh . . . we have all left the lands already, and sold our wigwams to Chemokemons (white men) — some for one hundred, and some for two hundred dollars, before we came to this Treaty. There are already four hundred Chemokemons on the land, and several hundred more on their way moving in; and three days before we came away, one Chemokemon sold his wigwam to another Chemokemon for two thousand dollars, to build a great town."

Yes, the early Iowans were speculators. But this Chemokemon, like many other promoters of cities, probably lost his two thousand dollars. There is no "great town" on what was Keokuk's Reserve. Mortality on such investments was comparable to that in stocks and bonds today, though on a smaller scale.

It is significant that the population of Iowa grew by leaps and bounds so long as there was cheap and unoccupied land. In 1836 the special census takers counted 10,564 white persons in the Iowa area. In 1840 there were about 42,000 white people in Iowa. Ten years later the Federal census reported 192,212. Then came the greatest influx of all. By 1860 there were 674,913 inhabitants in Iowa. Thereafter

population grew more slowly. Cheap land was gone. By 1890, the population had almost reached its maximum with a total of 1,911,896. Half a century later the census reported 2,535,430 Iowans in Iowa, an increase of only 64,491 since 1930. (Nebraska, the State just west of Iowa, lost 64,495 people in the same period.) But for the decade for 1928-1937 there were 461,855 births in Iowa and only 288,018 deaths, so it appears that some 100,000 Iowans migrated during a ten year period — some perhaps to take up work in cities, many to enjoy the sunshine of California.

WHO WERE PIONEERS

We use the word “pioneer” of these early settlers, often without realizing that this meaning of the word is as young as Iowa, although the word is old. In the middle ages, when knights fought on horseback, the army was usually preceded by detachments of men who were too poor to provide themselves with horses. It was the duty of these poor soldiers to build bridges and make roads for the fighting men. The French called these soldier-laborers *pionniers* or *peoniers*, meaning foot soldiers. Because these men used spade and hammer more than lance and sword, they were very generally looked upon with contempt. *The Laws and Ordinances of War*, adopted in England in 1640, declared that certain offenders should “remain in quality of *pioneers* or scavengers”.

The word “pioneer”, however, came to have a more honorable estate in military circles, especially in England and America. Military organizations developed pioneer units of engineers, groups of men highly trained in mechanics who came to have high rank in the army. Shakespeare used the word to designate one who digs, a miner.

“Well said, old mole, cans’t work i’ th’ ground so fast?
A worthy pioneer.”

James Fenimore Cooper wrote *The Pioneers* in 1823, using the term to designate such men as Leather-stocking, "the foremost in that band of pioneers who are opening the way for the march of the nation across the continent".

When and by whom the word "pioneer" was first used to designate the early settlers in a community it is difficult to say. A volume of almost four hundred pages, written by Timothy Flint and published in 1826, tells the story of extensive travels on the frontier during the preceding ten years, but the author did not use the term "pioneer" to describe the settlers. They were "emigrants", "back-woodsmen", or "frontier people".

In a book published only two years later, however, Judge James Hall used the word "pioneer" a number of times in the modern sense. In one place, for example, Hall referred to "the sturdy woodsman, who, as the pioneer of civilization, first laid axe to the tree, and made smooth the road for others". In another place he says: "The pioneers, therefore, brought little else with them than their weapons, and their ammunition". By 1830, then, when white settlers began coming into Iowa, the word "pioneer" had come into use to describe early settlers. In 1836, Washington Irving wrote in *Astoria*: "As one wave of emigration after another rolls into the vast regions of the west . . . the eager eyes of our pioneers will pry beyond".

The word "pioneer" does not, however, appear to have been used by the people living on the frontier, at least in the sense of early settlers: it requires perspective of either time or space, or both, to make a pioneer. Franc B. Wilkie, in his *Davenport Past and Present*, seems to have used the word only once and then in a somewhat different connotation, when he wrote: "It was that *vade mecum* of civilization — that cotemporary, and often pioneer of church and school-house — a drinking saloon".

Associations affect the character of words as they do that of people. The Spanish word "peon", for example, although its derivation is the same as that of pioneer, has come down through history with a sinister suggestion of dependence, servility, and lack of energy. How different the word "pioneer" in Anglo-Saxon America. Having once been accepted as a descriptive term for the early settlers, the word "pioneer" took on their most outstanding qualities. The settlers were, as a class, brave, original, and resourceful, whatever their faults may have been; and the word "pioneer" has come to typify individual initiative, courage, and the spirit of adventure.

The words "pioneer" and "peon" are, perhaps, typical of the two attitudes towards labor. The gap between the man who trains his mind and the man who works with his hands, so evident in the civilizations of Greece, China, Rome, Russia, Spanish-America, and the old South, is indistinct in Iowa. A woman may, and often does, do her family washing in the morning and attend a literary club program in the afternoon. The ordinary professional man can, and often does, shovel snow and run the furnace. College students become waiters to help with their expenses, and 4-H Club members organize contests in public speaking.

INDUSTRY IN IOWA

The industrial pattern of Iowa shades into the larger patterns of the United States and the world. But the State has a motif of its own; the industries of Iowa answer the world's prayer for food. In this picture one can not miss the cribs of corn, the fat cattle and hogs, the packing plants, the cereal mills, the creameries, the vegetable gardens. Aside from food, the best known Iowa products are washing machines. The housewives would miss Iowa, for a time

at least, if it disappeared as Atlantis did, according to legend.

The first Iowa settlers were pioneers, indeed, for they were miners. Even before the Indians made their first cession of land men pushed across the Mississippi River to occupy the lead mines of Julien Dubuque. Only the authority of United States troops drove them back. But when the ban was lifted these pioneers returned to work their claims. This mining center tended, as always, to be made up largely of men without families, rough, often rowdy, cosmopolitan in origin, gambling with one another and with nature.

The second (and most important) magnet which drew the settlers to Iowa was land — land from which trees did not have to be cut and stumps grubbed by long and back-breaking efforts — land where the soil was rich and deep and black — land that was the product of a million years of erosion, glacial action, and decaying vegetation — almost free land which, after the survey began in 1837, could be purchased for a dollar and a quarter an acre.

But with the miners and farmers came men of other occupations — millers, looking for mill sites on the streams, carpenters, ready with hammer and saw to build houses and stores, masons, surveyors, doctors, lawyers, businessmen, newspapermen, gamblers, typesetters, dressmakers, milliners, teachers, missionaries, bankers, butchers, merchants, lumbermen, and last on my list, but not least, politicians — Americans on the march. One of the remarkable characteristics of pioneer times in Iowa was the ease with which these individuals, shaken from their accustomed places like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, fell into the new pattern of organized society without direction from outside.

Over a thousand flour, lumber, and grist mills were constructed along the streams of Iowa. These mills have now largely disappeared, but in the early days going to the mill

for the winter's supply of flour was an event in the lives of pioneer families. Often the trip on horseback or by ox team was long and sometimes men were overtaken by the blizzards that swept like howling demons over the unfenced prairies. To keep one's bearings in such a storm was next to impossible and now and then a man did not return.

The story of a typical Iowa mill may be briefly told: it was built, served its day and generation, stood empty and unused for years, and at last was torn down or remained as an historic site. From the hundreds of small mills with the water-driven millstones, the threads of industry run to larger mills, such as the Quaker Oats plant in Cedar Rapids, with products for sale in almost every store in the United States.

Significant of the changes which have occurred is a news story which recently appeared in a small town paper. The Chickasaw Mill on the Little Cedar River near Nashua, where almost a century ago grist was ground and lumber sawed for the pioneers, is to be dismantled and made into a night club with a dance floor beside the mill pond.

Another industry which has been significant in Iowa from an early day has been meat packing. The early settlers turned their few cattle and hogs out on the prairie during the summer and in the fall slaughtered what they needed for their winter's supply of meat. Gradually the supply increased. As early as 1840 J. M. D. Burrows began buying dressed hogs at Davenport. Today packing plants at Cedar Rapids, Waterloo, Ottumwa, Sioux City, and other places turn out each year something like two billion and a quarter pounds of meat products. In addition probably an equal amount is shipped out of the State to be processed elsewhere. How many tons of meat have been produced in Iowa during the past hundred years is almost beyond computation; it runs into millions.

The first creamery in Iowa was started at Spring Branch (what an appropriate name) in 1872, but housewives had been making and selling butter long before that. Today Iowa produces something like a quarter of a billion pounds of creamery butter each year — and uses about twenty-five per cent of it at home. Since 1899 the creameries of Iowa have churned something like 2,670,000 *tons* of butter. It would be difficult to fit these production and consumption figures into the totalitarian pattern of bullets rather than butter.

Iowa is, indeed, a synonym for fertile soil and abundant crops. With one-fourth of the Grade A agricultural land in the United States, Iowa is described as the bread-basket of the world. If people are hungry it is not because Iowa farmers can not produce the food; it is because these hungry people are for one reason or another unable to produce wealth to be exchanged for food. No wonder Iowans have always been interested in transportation. Surplus food is much like the gold of Midas if it can not be exchanged for other necessities. Lying as it does in the center of the United States, Iowa has become a part of the pattern of transportation and communication. Trails, roads, rails, rivers, airplane beacons, wires, all have woven an ever-changing design across the State, tying it to the East and the West, the North and the South.

FROM OXCART TO AIRPLANE

One of the oldest pictures of the new stone Capitol at Iowa City shows oxen pulling wagons along the unpaved streets. But oxen were slow motion, too slow to make it possible to carry surplus food to distant markets. A little later the homes of well-to-do Iowans featured iron hitching posts in the form of horses' heads with blocks of stone for steps to the carriages. But corn and hogs could not be car-

ried to distant markets even by fleet horses, unless they had been equipped with wings, like Pegasus, for roads were bad or non-existent.

The *Western Engineer* which battled the current of the Mississippi in 1819 and the *Virginia* which made the trip in 1823 ushered in an age of steamboats before Iowa was named. But Iowa could not be served by the two great rivers alone. In 1841 the little steamboat *Ripple* puffed its way importantly to the bank of the Iowa River below the site of the soon-to-be Capitol at Iowa City. It was welcomed as an omen of river transportation, but the streams of Iowa are choked by the soil which the rains of spring and fall wash from the fields into their beds, ice bound in winter, flooded in spring, and debilitated by the droughts of August. Steamboats were not the answer to the prayer for a means of transporting surplus products to the consumers.

The farmers resigned themselves to overland transportation. Oxen and draft horses toiled along the dusty, muddy, or frozen roads of Iowa. Buggies, surreys, carriages, and Concord stagecoaches pulled by fast horses, spun along the highways that crisscrossed Iowa, usually a mile apart. Bicycles, high wheeled or low, single or tandem, furnished both recreation and transportation for persons. But travel was uncertain, often unpleasant, sometimes impossible.

For almost a hundred years the roads of Iowa remained an unsolved problem, deep in choking dust in summer, ribbons of sticky mud in the spring, drifted with snow or cleft by deep, frozen ruts in the winter. Homes and communities had to be self-sustaining for long periods. A reserve of food and fuel must be at hand. There was in early years no rural mail delivery.

One man only must go through — the local doctor. Many are the tales told of the persistence and ingenuity of these

men. They were not skilled surgeons, with white robed nurses to adjust their masks, tie their gowns, and hand them their gloves and instruments. They were not brilliant diagnosticians, with x-rays and blood tests and all the other aids of modern physicians. They were not highly-paid obstetricians with their patients installed in hospitals with every convenience for the care of mother and child. These were plain men, with little training, and no aids, but no snow was too deep, no storm too bad, no stream too deep in flood, no wind too cold for them to try to reach a patient and do what they could.

The story is told of one of these country doctors (perhaps not in Iowa, perhaps it is only a story which might have been true) who was summoned one night by a man who said he wanted the doctor to go with him to his residence some miles in the country. A storm was raging, the roads were bad, the night was dark. But the doctor hitched up his patient team and started, taking the man with him. At last they pulled in at the man's residence. He turned to the doctor, asked his fee for a country visit, was told that it was three dollars, handed the astonished physician the money, and dismissed him. The village hackman had refused to drive the man home; the doctor went.

The greater part of Iowa was settled by men who brought their families and equipment in wagons drawn by oxen or horses, but while these toiled along the roads, a competitor was unrolling itself across the country. A new age of transportation was already on the threshold. Before Lyman Dillon turned the furrow on the Dubuque to Iowa City road, John Plumbe, Jr., of Dubuque, had presented plans for a railroad to the Pacific — and the west coast still belonged to Mexico. But it was not until 1855 that railroads really entered Iowa. The Federal government soon gave land, and the pioneers made grants of their own.

The rails having once been spiked in place and the cars and engines put on them, the railroads became arrogant, or so it seemed to the farmers who were struggling with the depressions of 1873 and 1893. The first agrarian revolution in Iowa was manifested in the Granger movement. The Granger laws restricted unfair practices of the railroads, but laws lack the elasticity necessary for such regulations. Before long the task of supervising the railroads was transferred to a Railroad Commission, now renamed the Commerce Commission. And so railroads passed through all the stages of growth to a quiet and still useful old age — vision, promotion, construction, aggression, regulation by statute, and regulation by an administrative board. Just when observers had about decided that the railroads were on the way out, the main lines went through a process of face-lifting and now across the Iowa landscape whizz diesel-engine streamliners, such as the “City of Denver”, the Rocket, the Hiawatha, and the Zephyr. It’s a hundred years from the ox team to the streamliner in the Iowa picture.

But speed also found a place upon the highways and byways as well as upon the iron rails. About the beginning of the twentieth century ingenious Americans began to hide the horse power within the vehicles and to feed cylinders with gasoline. Fifteen miles an hour, flat tires, and temperamental machinery slowed down the first automobiles. Horses became hysterical, their drivers irate. But the horseless carriage was here to stay — at least for this age. As cars increased, roads got worse — for increased traffic stirred deeper mud and cut deeper ruts.

Typical of Iowa procedure was the evolution of paving in the State — first small stretches of road were paved by local authorities, voluntary associations of “boosters” toured the towns along a main road urging paving, then the

State gradually and cautiously edged into the picture and the Federal government granted subsidies based on the value of good roads in military affairs and distribution of the mail. In 1904 the Iowa State Highway Commission was established, but concrete was expensive and progress was slow. In 1920 there were only twenty-five miles of paving in the whole State of Iowa.

On November 11, 1922, the football team of the State University of Iowa played Minnesota at Iowa City and won 28 to 14. The twenty-two thousand fans were jubilant, but their spirits were soon dampened by a steady rain which began before the game ended and kept on through the night. East, west, north, and south, the dirt roads were soon churned into mud which was both slippery and sticky. Optimism and necessity sent many cars out upon these roads, but one by one they slithered into the ditches beside the roads or stuck fast in the mud. There was a legend that a thousand cars were tied up between Iowa City and Cedar Rapids. No one really counted. Many other cars were left on the streets in Iowa City where they stood for weeks, with frozen radiators, before their owners could reclaim them. Newspapers from New York to Seattle printed gleeful accounts of this catastrophe. Iowa is a stick-in-the-mud, they chortled.

But the comic-tragic incident was not all loss. Iowa was a democracy. The motorists in those cars resolved, sometimes profanely, that Iowa ought to have paved roads, and they were taxpayers, voters. Among them were legislators and county officers. By the close of 1940 there were over 5200 miles of concrete paving on the roads under the supervision of the Highway Commission and many miles of bituminous surface. Iowa was out of the mud, and this meant concrete paving, for the deep mud tended to swallow the loose gravel which could be used in many other States.

But speed did not wait for concrete. It took to the air. In 1914 William C. Robinson of Grinnell made a non-stop flight (*mirabile dictu*) as far as Kentland, Indiana, and thirteen years later Clarence D. Chamberlin, another Iowa aviator, piloted his plane to Germany. In January, 1920, a small pig was sent to Chicago from Iowa City by air mail addressed to the manager of the Congress Hotel. Whether the pig enjoyed the trip is not reported. A few years later, planes were carrying passengers and the time between Iowa City and Chicago was reduced to about two hours.

From mud (and Iowa had a deeper soil and deeper mud than most States) to air, from oxen to planes, Iowa presents its part in the picture of transportation.

THE DEMOCRATIC PATTERN

The picture of the economic life in Iowa shades gradually into the political pattern, as pictures on the screen dissolve and reform before our eyes. Upon the Iowa canvas the outlines of fundamental democracy are unmistakable. Most pioneers brought with them only a few essential things — a yoke of oxen, a wagon, cooking utensils, an ax, a rifle, and a Bible. But every one brought with him an abiding belief in democracy. These settlers did not wait for government to act. They made government. To them political institutions were simply machinery; their purpose was to serve the people. Far from the conception of the Iowa pioneers was the present-day idea of a totalitarian state demanding abject obedience from its people. Their government, in the unforgettable words of Abraham Lincoln, was “of the people, by the people, for the people”. Where none existed, they made their own — rough often, as the homemade furniture or farm equipment, but strong, because it fitted pioneer needs.

In 1830, for example, the miners at Dubuque found them-

selves beyond the limits of civil government and without legal rights to their mining claims. They held a meeting and drafted a compact to regulate the rights of each miner, writing the brief instrument of government upon a tree stump. Four years later, a man shot his partner at Dubuque and defiantly declared "You have no laws here and cannot try me." But he mistook the temper of the pioneers. Murder was a crime anywhere, they declared. They held an extra-legal court, gave the prisoner benefit of counsel and a jury trial, convicted him, and a month later hanged him. This famous O'Connor trial was not mob action in defiance of law; it was fundamental democracy in action.

These early pioneers found that the lands on which they built their cabins were not yet listed for sale. No patents could be obtained, no boundaries fixed, no deeds given. Settlement had outrun the surveyors. But the pioneers were not dismayed; they knew the answer to their needs. Banded together in claim associations they made regulations for the filing of claims to a limited number of acres — usually 160. And determined men, ready to use force if necessary, made certain that these claims were respected and that an outsider might not outbid at the land sale the man who with ax and saw had built a home for himself and his family. Territorial laws recognized these claims, and contracts concerning them were considered valid.

The establishment of the Territory of Iowa on June 12, 1838, and its admission as a State on December 28, 1846, both came as the result of demands from the people of the area; Iowa was largely the creation of individual settlers. It remains one of the most democratic of the forty-eight States.

IOWA AND SECTIONALISM

The admission of Iowa marked a change in the picture of

intersectional tensions within the United States. The original States in the East at first looked with mingled contempt and jealousy upon the development of Commonwealths in the West, especially those carved out of territory added after the adoption of the Constitution. When the proposition to admit Louisiana, the first State to be admitted from the Louisiana Purchase, was before Congress in 1811, Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts declared "if this bill passes, the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved; that the States which compose it are free from their moral obligations, and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare definitely for a separation — amicably if they can, violently if they must." He continued: "Have the three branches of this Government a right, at will, to weaken and outweigh the influence, respectively secured to each State, in this compact, by introducing, at pleasure, new partners, situate beyond the old limits of the United States? . . . Nor will it stop, until the very name and nature of the old partners be overwhelmed by new comers into the Confederacy."

A quarter of a century later the picture had been changed. Massachusetts did not withdraw. The adopted children had been accepted as allies, if not as equals, by the East. When George Wallace Jones presented the bill to create the Territory of Iowa, the cleavage lay between the free and the slave States; the East and the West joined hands against slavery. One of the leading opponents of the bill was John C. Calhoun. As Josiah Quincy had visioned and feared the submergence of the original States in the larger Union, so Calhoun saw the significance of Iowa, the opening wedge which was to split the Louisiana Purchase and give the northern and wider part to the free States.

When Jones assured the Senator from South Carolina

that slavery had nothing to fear from Iowa, that there were no abolitionists in Iowa, and that he himself owned slaves, Calhoun replied "wait until western Ohio, New York, and New England shall pour their population into that section, and you will see Iowa some day grow to be the strongest abolition State in the Union. I shall not live to see it, in all probability, but you almost certainly will." He was a true prophet. Iowa became the first free State in the Louisiana Purchase in 1846. Calhoun died in 1850. The Iowa Senators both voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854, but that same year James W. Grimes, an advocate of abolition, was elected Governor of Iowa, and George Wallace Jones was arrested during the Civil War for alleged sympathy with the South. Iowa — almost a new New England in political opinion — cast its weight on the side of freedom.

Yes, Calhoun was a prophet. The first case to come before the Supreme Court of the Territory of Iowa, decided in 1839, involved the right of a Missouri slaveowner to return a negro named Ralph to slavery. Ralph had been permitted to go to Dubuque to mine lead and thus pay for his freedom — the estimated price was \$550. When Ralph failed to pay up, his master authorized two men to bring him back. But the three Judges of the Iowa Territorial Supreme Court declared that Iowa law did not recognize slavery, Ralph was not a fugitive when he came to Iowa, and while here he was a free man.

Iowa played its part in the settlement of some sectional disputes, but within, it has had few conflicting regional interests such as appear between northern and southern California, the coast and the plains areas of Texas, the blue-grass and the hill country of Kentucky. It is true that the cities along the Mississippi River turn their faces east and south while those along the Missouri look westward and that the four corners of the State show differences in inter-

ests and in the type of people. The northwest counties, for example, were satisfied with gravel roads while other parts of the State, with deeper mud, clamored for paving. The river cities opposed and often flouted prohibition laws. There is a German background in Davenport and a Dutch atmosphere in Pella. But on the whole life in Iowa lacks sectional feeling. Softly rolling prairies, free movement of the population, equality of opportunity, a common interest in education and agriculture all tend to eradicate differences. Well is it inscribed on the Washington Monument — "Iowa. Her affections, like the rivers of her borders, flow to an inseparable Union."

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

But Iowa was more than anti-slavery; it has always been fundamentally democratic. No restrictions on voting based on property, education, ancestry, or religion have ever been made in Iowa, although there were for many years restrictions as to race and sex. In the beginning all white male citizens twenty-one years of age or over who were living in an election district at the time of the election were eligible to vote — and to hold office. No one inquired how long a would-be voter had been a resident there.

Gradually the Territory and State became more specific in regard to voting qualifications. A residence of six months in the Commonwealth was added in 1843. The first State Constitution also required a twenty-day residence in the county. (The Constitution of 1857 raised this to sixty days.) This put a legal obstacle in the way of certain election practices of the "good old days".

In February, 1838, for example, there was an election to choose a county seat for Scott County. A preliminary survey revealed that the number of voters for Davenport and Rockingham were about equal. The Davenport supporters

recruited “laborers” and a day or two before the election an agent returned from Dubuque with eleven sleighloads of miners “who, in consideration of one dollar per diem, food and whisky, and all other expenses, had agreed to *labor* a few days in Davenport”. They all claimed the right to vote, presumably all for Davenport, and then gave up their “jobs” and returned to Dubuque, having consumed, so it was recorded, three hundred gallons of whisky and other liquors. These votes cost the Davenport boosters some three thousand dollars — and then Governor Dodge annulled the election!

Elections were informal, often *viva voce*. Sometimes party adherents took the trouble to print ballots — lists of the names of candidates on that party’s ticket. These ballots were mere slips of paper. Only with the adoption of the Australian ballot in 1892 was the voter given on one large sheet the entire list of candidates — not to mention the blank spaces.

The Jacksonian doctrine that any citizen should be eligible to any office was the rule in early Iowa. Even today there are special Constitutional qualifications for only the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and members of the legislature. Both Iowa Constitutions have prescribed a residence of one year in the State for all legislators and a minimum age of twenty-five years for Senators and two years residence in the State and a minimum age of thirty years for the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. The only qualifications prescribed by law for Justices of the State Supreme Court are those of the most humble voter. So far as the statutes and Constitution of Iowa are concerned a hod-carrier who can vote could be elected a Justice of the highest State court. But the Iowa Supreme Court has always represented a high standard of professional service and training and no Iowa Justice has ever gone out of office

under suspicion of fraud. Iowa voters prefer to choose their judges by popular vote, but they demand good men and free courts.

Two groups of people were, however, disfranchised in early Iowa — negroes and women. The disfranchisement of negro men was due to the shadow cast by slavery. Many of the Iowa settlers had come from the South; some still believed that the negro was an inferior who could not be accepted on equal terms in the body politic. The pressure of public sentiment prevented slavery in Iowa but it was not until 1868 that colored men were given the status of voters and the right to hold office. The number of colored voters in Iowa is small, however, and no instance of the election of a negro to office in Iowa has been found.

Iowa law makes no distinction against negroes, and municipalities are not authorized to adopt ordinances restricting residence to white persons. Some discriminations exist by virtue of private contract, but these are of minor importance. Educational institutions are open to all. George Washington Carver, famous negro scientist who is said to have devised the chemical creation of some 300 substances from peanuts, was educated at Simpson College and the Iowa State College. Laurence C. Jones, the founder of the Piney Woods Industrial School in Mississippi, went to high school at Marshalltown and graduated from the State University of Iowa.

The disfranchisement of women was due to the precedent of the old English common law, emphasized by the condition on the frontier. The Iowa of a century ago was a man's country. The family was the economic and social unit of society, the husband and father was the bread-winner, the protector, the spokesman. It was naturally assumed that he was also the political representative. Indeed, it would have been difficult for pioneer women to have taken any

considerable part in the political life of the Territory. Voting often meant a long trip on foot or on horseback over wild prairie. Such conditions were physical facts, not political theories.

But hardships alone would not have barred women from the electorate; Adam was still influential. In 1894, one Representative embalmed in the House *Journal* this objection: "I have always been taught and Scripture says, God first made man and afterwards he took a rib out of the man's side, out of which he made woman. Now it seems to me a disgrace and an injustice to let that *rib* control or dictate to men in any way, shape or form whatsoever in regard to the law making power in this State."

Little by little the rights of women as persons were enlarged — indeed there was little intent on the part of pioneer men to be unfair to women but the disfranchisement of women outlived the pioneer time, as many situations outlive their justification. Even today women in Iowa vote by virtue of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution and not by State action, but the "ribs" do vote and it is not probable that any large number of men would wish to return to manhood suffrage. Certainly most women would object.

INDIVIDUALISM VERSUS RELIEF

While Iowans were always ready to accept the idea of joint action as a form of fundamental democracy, they were believers in the responsibilities of the individual. It is not at all surprising that the State has been somewhat slow in adopting the various experiments of social legislation. The pioneers were ready and willing to help a neighbor raise his log cabin. They combined their teams to pull loaded wagons through the mud. They drove miles through all but impassable roads, often with slow-footed oxen, to help their

neighbors in cases of death and sickness or to make merry with them at weddings, cornhuskings, and quiltings. But frontier society owed no able-bodied man a living, had little sympathy for the criminal, and felt no responsibility for the shirker.

Farming, always the most important industry in the State, has nourished this individualistic attitude, when most other industries have been organized on the basis of corporations, huge industrial plants, and labor unions. The crop control boards have tended to take away some of this individual responsibility, but in spite of this, the Iowa farmer tends to follow his own judgment and to do his own work. And so does his wife.

Once convinced of the need of public assistance, Iowa law-makers have been willing to appropriate money for relief, but projects for \$200 every month, "thirty dollars every Thursday", "ham and eggs", and other plans based on the idea that the world owes certain groups a living have not been popular in the State, although Townsend Clubs offer social contacts for hundreds of older people and have some political influence. In a land overflowing with food, it is recognized that no one should go hungry, but in communities where men and women have worked hard and saved for their old age, the idea of public grants of more than absolute necessities finds little favor.

But Iowa citizens and law-makers, social welfare workers and service club members all have softer spots in their hearts for children. Mothers' pensions, a child welfare research station, boy and girl scout work, 4-H Clubs, and playgrounds all assist the well children. A hospital for the sick and crippled is provided by the State for unfortunate children whose parents can not afford medical and surgical treatment. Children, it is recognized, are normal dependents, but adults are responsible for their own support and

care unless the need is unmistakable or the social obligation great — as for example the indigent aged and the war veterans.

Responding to the increase in need during the depression which began in 1929, following the political trend, and to take advantage of the Federal aid grants, Iowa has adopted unemployment insurance and set up State and county social security boards. State appropriations for old age pensions and the unemployed mount each biennium — at the expense of schools as well as the taxpayers. In 1940 Iowa farmers received \$61,465,000 in AAA payments and the Social Security Board was given \$7,487,000 in Federal funds. Does this mean a permanent change in the attitude of Iowans or did the 53,000 Republican majority in Iowa in 1940 indicate a partial return to the doctrines of economy, thrift, and individual responsibility? Would the majority have been larger or smaller if foreign policies had not been involved? Who knows? This is, indeed, an age of doubt.

LABOR AND THE COSTS OF LIVING

There is a reason for this “Show me” attitude in relief and spending. The Iowa pioneers were frugal from necessity. They had few dishes, few clothes, few luxuries, and an additional supply was hard to get. Breaking dishes was serious, when there were no more to be had. One did not carelessly discard a dress if one had carded the wool, woven the cloth, and sewed the seams by hand in candlelight. Farmers who earned their living by working six days a week from four o’clock in the morning until eight at night and doing chores every day knew the cost of money in labor better than they knew the money value of labor. “Work dollars” as units of value are not new ideas to Iowans.

There is no rapid turnover in Iowa business, for most of it is based upon the income from the farms. A farmer

has one crop of corn or oats or hay or soy beans. He may have hogs to sell at various times but these represent approximately the work and investment of a year. Cattle represent at least two years of care and feed, horses even more time. Milk and butter represent early rising and hours of toil after the principal work of the day is done. Cows must be milked on Sundays, on holidays, in stormy and fair weather. There is little opportunity for quick profits or easily-made fortunes in the farm States. Why should not the men who earn their money by such constant sacrifice be critical of its spending? It is easy to be liberal with other people's money, but not so easy to be free-handed with the earnings of hard-handed toil.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The widespread distribution of its population, the absence of really large population centers, the diffusion of wealth, education, and opportunity have tended to blot out class distinctions in Iowa. An Englishwoman taking work on an Iowa campus a few years ago was asked what she considered the most distinctive difference between the people here and those in England. Her unexpected but emphatic reply was "All the people here talk alike." Her generalization was not, of course, entirely correct — generalizations seldom are — but it suggested a pattern of society which is too often not discerned by those close to it.

From the beginning Iowans of all walks of life have mingled in school, in neighborhood intercourse, in church work, in political activities, in social contacts. This is still true of most Iowans. Many physicians and lawyers grew up on farms, most members of a typical chamber of commerce take an intelligent interest in farm problems.

There is no class in Iowa which says "We do not go to college". It is true that some Iowans go to Harvard or to

European universities, while others have only a common school education and never travel beyond their county, but both these extremes are rare. For the most part all Iowans are just people. The son of a farmer may go to the State University, the State College, or Oxford, to become a lawyer, a physician, the president of a college, or an engineer; and he may marry the daughter of a carpenter, a clerk, or a banker. There are social, economic, and intellectual snobs, of course, but not infrequently they find the tables turned. The old saying about its being three generations from shirt-sleeves to shirtsleeves often comes true in Iowa.

TOLERANCE AND COSMOPOLITAN INTERESTS

Perhaps it is the emphasis on the right and responsibility of the individual to decide things for himself, providing he does not interfere with the rights of others, that has made Iowa people tolerant. Added to this was the fact that settlers came to Iowa from the eastern and southern States, from Canada, from Europe, so that the settlers grew accustomed to living near people who differed from them. Perhaps it was the broad and open prairieland which made the Iowan in his cabin aware of the great world beyond. Whatever the cause, tolerance was one of the characteristics of Iowa — in spite of the attempt of some modern novelists to make Iowa representative of narrowness, bigotry, and provincialism. In Iowa people from many nations found a refuge; and immigrants from oppressed minorities made their homes beside those of their oppressors. Protestants and Catholics, free-thinkers and Jews lived together in communities — if not in fraternity, at least in peace. Abner Kneeland, well-known atheist, prosecuted and persecuted in the East, found a home and friends in a frontier community of southeastern Iowa.

To Iowa came refugees from the tangled nations of Eur-

ope. Dissenters from Holland under Henry Peter Scholte came to Pella. Irish, fleeing from the potato famine in Ireland, settled here, to help build the railroads and, incidentally, run them. Bohemians took refuge here from persecution by Austria. The Welsh brought their music. Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians sought here a milder climate and more productive land. The revolutions of 1848 in Europe brought other foreign groups — Hungarians, Germans, and French.

To Salem came the Quakers, with their devotion to pacifism and equality of men before God. Not far away at Denmark lived the descendants of New England Puritans who had persecuted the Quakers two hundred years earlier. But when fire-eating Missourians threatened to raid Salem in retaliation for efforts the Friends had made to help slaves on to freedom, there came from Denmark a group of men who were not pacifists, with guns in their hands, grimly declaring that Salem would be raided only across their dead bodies.

In this Iowa, individualistic and democratic as it was, communistic groups found a welcome. The Society of True Inspiration, German, pietist, withdrawing from the world, found a haven in Iowa County in 1855, where they could "remain true". Some of the twenty-six thousand acres of land they purchased there had been occupied in 1851 by a Swendenborgian group who likewise attempted to establish a communistic settlement and failed. French Icarians, basing their communism on a French vision of Utopia instead of on religion, settled in southwestern Iowa. The Mormons, fleeing from Missouri and Illinois across Iowa met with little opposition and were usually treated with kindness.

Into Iowa came this mixture of religious groups, nationalities, ideologies, and social classes — Protestant, Catho-

lic, and Jew, ignorant peasant and cultured aristocrat, rich and poor, New England Puritan and southern planter or poor white. Critics who condemn Iowa life as flat, prosaic, and uninteresting do not see the pattern of the settlement of Iowa or else they miss its color.

To Iowa came George Davenport and Antoine LeClaire, two of the founders of Davenport. Davenport, an Englishman, came to America as a sailor, was left behind in New York because of a broken leg, joined the American army and fought through the War of 1812 on the American side, and after the war settled on Rock Island where he built a home in which he was killed by bandits on July 4, 1845. LeClaire, the son of a Frenchman who had married the granddaughter of an Indian chief, spoke English, French, and Indian and was the friend of army men, furtraders, settlers, and Indians. His first home in Davenport became the first railroad station in Iowa.

There was John Plumbe, Jr., of Dubuque, who as early as 1838 had visions of a railroad to the sea — and found time to invent new processes in photography before he committed suicide. There was Joseph Williams, one of the three judges of the Territorial Supreme Court, a man who could (and did) play the fiddle for dances and demonstrate ventriloquism as well as write excellent decisions. To Burlington in early life came Dr. William R. Ross, with his father who had served in the English army during the Revolution. What an Odyssey was represented in the life of this elder Ross who had returned to America after he was discharged from the British army, raised a family in Kentucky, and was buried in Iowa — the first Revolutionary War soldier known to have been buried within the State.

A few miles from Dubuque rose the stately Abbey of New Melleray where monks keep their vows of silence. At

New Buda in Decatur County Count Ladislaus Ujházy, a lieutenant in the lost cause of Louis Kossuth, attempted to set up a feudal estate with a log manor house — and advertise a speculation in city lots. In the northwest, around LeMars, a group of well-to-do Englishmen erected large homes and stables on the prairie, dressed for dinner, displayed the Union Jack with the Stars and Stripes on the Fourth of July, and offered prayers in the Episcopal Church for Queen Victoria. How many incorrigible younger sons and remittance men were included is, perhaps, indicated by the fact that the saloon at LeMars was dubbed the “House of Lords”, by the American settlers who found amusement in the antics of this group.

Most of these strange patterns have faded out of the picture. Perhaps this is unfortunate. Perhaps life in Iowa would be more interesting if each group retained its peculiarities, as the Iowa landscape is more picturesque in the northeast where it has not been leveled by glaciers. (Precipices and canyons add to the variety of scenery if not to the fertility of the land.) Is it to be regretted that English, Greeks, Germans, Scandinavians, French, Italians, Hungarians, and Czechs have learned to live together here as Americans, though in the process they have lost their national differences and contrasts. Perhaps Europe would be happier if a similar process had gone on there, though local color might have been lost in the process.

Iowans have indeed shown temporary evidence of intolerance at times, especially in war, but on the whole the people who settled here have shown a willingness to let people think as they please, to permit them to be different, to tolerate experiments with new or different ways of life. Whether it has been a secular communistic group like Icaria, a spiritual community like Amana, a religious neighborhood unit like the Mennonites, or a coöperative experi-

ment like that at Granger, Iowans have looked on and waited for results.

From the beginning, given a growing season and a little cultivation, the Iowa soil could produce more food than the population could consume. The crying need was more people. Large families were no handicap when land could be secured for each son for \$1.25 an acre. Daughters were not likely to remain unmarried in communities where men outnumbered women two to one. In the old days, immigrants were not admitted by quota; instead agents were sent to Europe and to New York to direct them to the State. New settlers were considered consumers rather than competitors. Perhaps this in part accounts for the welcome given to various groups who came to Iowa.

A sense of humor, a devotion to fair play, and a deep-seated patience derived perhaps from contact with the soil and the slow processes of nature have also contributed to this tolerance. More important, perhaps, has been the abiding confidence of Iowans that the democratic American way of life should and will prevail. Intolerance develops in an atmosphere of fear, doubt, and a sense of inferiority. Democracy, individualism, and voluntary coöperation were ingrained in the Iowa pioneers. They had an unqualified confidence in their form of government. Iowa life has been so democratic, so American, that Iowans could welcome alien groups, let them carry on their various activities, absorb some of their ideas, music, words, and recipes — and find as the years passed that these people, as the chameleon changes its color, had gradually taken on Americanism.

RELIGION AND EDUCATION

Upon the pioneers of Iowa beat incessantly the problems of life. Food and shelter must be provided and there was no WPA for men out of jobs. Disease stalked the frontier,

taking toll of the strong and the weak. Hardship and death itself were ever at hand. In the midst of this strenuous and often tragic life, the pioneers relied upon their own efforts, accepted sorrow and death as the will of God, and believed that by means of education their children might be better prepared to meet their problems. Courthouses and capitols were found in the centers of government, but three institutions formed a triangle in every pioneer settlement — the home, the school, and the church. Often they were all of logs, but they answered the needs of the people.

It is not surprising that Iowa is included in the "Bible Belt". The missionary Catholic priest and the Protestant circuit rider came into the State with the tide of settlement. A year after the opening of the Black Hawk Purchase the first church building in what is now Iowa was built at Dubuque. It was sponsored by the Methodist Church, but the subscription list contains the names of persons of various races and creeds — Protestants and Catholics, whites and negroes, men and women, Americans, Irish, English, French, and Germans. Woodbury Massey, one of the twelve members of the local Methodist Church, headed the list with twenty-five dollars, but the donations included Caroline Brady's twelve and a half cents (perhaps a widow's mite), twenty-five cents (two bits) each from two "colored" men, the same amount from Tilda, a sister of Ralph, the slave, and fifty cents from "Uncle Tom" (Was he a slave also?). Philip Jacob Weigel wrote his name in German script and subscribed five dollars, "Nigley, a dutchman" gave a dollar, while "Duplissey" and Patrick O'Mora each promised two dollars. Iowa, it appears, began as ecclesiastical hash.

Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, Italian-born priest of the Roman Catholic Church, built churches for the people of his faith at Dubuque, Burlington, Iowa City, and

perhaps other places. In 1843 eleven young Congregational and Presbyterian ministers came to Iowa with the watch word — “Each to found a church and all a college”. Some two score churches and a college — now Grinnell College — tell the story of their work.

The interesting thing about the attitude of the early Iowans toward education was the nearly unanimous desire for it and belief in it. Many of these Iowa settlers had little education, but they believed it would help men solve their difficulties and desired it for their children, perhaps as we all long for that which we did not have and still fondly believe would have made our lives richer and happier. Co-education was the rule. In this new land where men and women worked side by side to subdue nature, there was a tendency to break down distinctions between the sexes so far as opportunity was concerned.

The pioneers of Iowa brought with them ideals of public schools and each community, as soon as it was able, erected a schoolhouse and provided a teacher for at least a few weeks or months. Children from the homes of settlers from New England and the South, from foreign countries and adjoining States, sat on hard benches to learn to read and write. Dog-eared McGuffey readers were handed down from child to child in a family. In 1930 Iowa had 98.3 per cent of the children between 7 and 13 years in school, a figure exceeded only by Nebraska with 98.4 per cent and equalled only by Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts.

In 1849 school districts were authorized to make provision for high schools, but these were rate schools and it was ten years before the idea of *free* public high schools became general. In 1911 Iowa recognized the right of all children to equal privileges of education so far as high schools were concerned by requiring all school districts to

pay the tuition of pupils wishing to attend high school in some neighboring district if none was provided at home.

That the pioneers were interested in higher education is evident from the number of attempts to incorporate academies sponsored by churches, communities, labor groups, and private initiative, before public high schools were provided and from the early establishment of numerous colleges and a State University. Denmark Academy, for example, was long famous as the center of New England culture in Iowa. One of its students (an unhappy one) was Arthur E. Hertzler, a descendant of Mennonite immigrants and author of several books, including the *Horse and Buggy Doctor*. The Mt. Pleasant Collegiate Institute sponsored by the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1843 became Iowa Wesleyan College, the oldest institution for higher education in Iowa.

A visitor once remarked that the most noticeable things in Iowa were corn and colleges. It was a pertinent comment, too, for the State raises more corn than any other State, sends one hundred and fifty young people to college for each thousand of her population, and has the lowest illiteracy rating among the States.

Writers who make contemptuous references to "Main Street", "the sticks", "hicks", and the "Bible Belt" do not explain why from the homes of Iowa there come so many men and women who can do worthwhile things, or why persons born in Iowa constitute over three and one-half per cent of those listed in *Who's Who in America* who were born in the United States, while the population of Iowa is only two per cent of the total population of the United States — almost twice the normal quota. It is true, of course, that many of these persons do not work in Iowa, just as it is true that much of the meat and cereals raised here are not consumed in the State. But a civilization may

be judged not only by how much it uses or consumes, but by how much it produces.

Life in Iowa has been, for the most part, unexciting, geared to slow day by day labor, commonplace. Partly for this reason it has become the custom for certain sophisticates, writers of best sellers, would-be rivals of Charles Dickens, to use Iowa as a personification of lack of culture, hypocritical religion, Puritanical morality, and general narrowness. The *New Yorker* announced in 1925 that it would not be edited for the "Old Lady from Dubuque"; it was for people who were New York-minded. The idea back of this slogan is simple. It is illustrated by the story told by an Iowa woman who sojourned for a year or two in Boston. One day she dropped in at her neighborhood store and found the grocer sorting eggs which had been imported from the Middle West, perhaps from Iowa. He was putting the large eggs in one container marked "Eastern Eggs"; the smaller ones went into a basket labelled "Western Eggs". How simple is superiority by fiat, whether it refers to culture or to eggs.

IOWA IN FICTION

In fiction, especially in short stories, Iowa is frequently selected as the residence of some bucolic character or some western man or woman who succeeded in becoming almost as cultured as characters from New York, Boston, Baltimore, or Atlanta. It is also a favorite field for novels, chiefly (and properly) those by Iowa writers. The interest of Iowans in their own State as a field for literature goes back to Johnson Brigham, a small, dapper newspaperman from New York who launched *The Midland Monthly* at Des Moines in 1894. Iowa, Brigham insisted, had color, romance, historic events, characters suitable for fiction. But the *Midland* lasted only six years.

Another twenty years passed before fiction became a popular medium of literary expression in Iowa. Under Clark Fisher Ansley, John T. Frederick, and Frank Luther Mott, the State University began to sponsor creative writing and *The Midland*, a small magazine in which appeared short stories and some poems by young Iowans who claimed to be realists, but usually succeeded only in being morbid. During the past twenty years the number of Iowa novels has increased faster than the Iowa corn yield.

The pictures of Iowa presented by some writers recall the old story of the blind men who tried to get an idea of an elephant by sense of touch. One felt a leg and described that, one the trunk, one a tusk, one the tail, one the wrinkled side of the body. Each novelist, it is said, writes of Iowa as he sees it. Perhaps perspective is not as essential to fiction as it is in getting a correct concept of an elephant.

The novels, which represent or misrepresent Iowa life, may be classified roughly into five groups. Some, like the novels of Hamlin Garland, express the bitterness engendered by hardships due to pioneer conditions and depressions. Some people, having escaped these hardships, can look back upon them with nostalgic memories of their accomplishments. But not Hamlin Garland. He hated cows and cinnamon-colored hogs — in fact he disliked the robust facts of farm life, no less than the drudgery which at least in early times went with farming, as well as the hardships of depression eras before the days of the WPA and CCC camps.

Another group of novelists, represented by Ruth Suckow, reflect the drabness of country and small town life, the commonplace, the dullness of routine, the narrowness of people enveloped in the cocoons of circumscribed interests. Miss Suckow has succeeded in presenting this side of Iowa life; she has even made it interesting. But even in the small

towns there was more romance, humor, and optimism than is revealed in these novels.

Then there have been stories tending toward the sentimental, such as *Mother Mason* and *The Song of Years*, both by Bess Streeter Aldrich, stories of successful families, without much of the tragedy of life, reflecting the optimism of the pioneers, stories of common people with a sense of humor, faith in themselves, and "horse sense".

Other novelists have attempted to portray the historical development of Iowa. Herbert Quick did this and did it very well in his trilogy — *Vandemark's Folly*, *The Hawk-eye*, and *The Invisible Woman*, perhaps the most representative pictures of Iowa's historical development yet written.

Interspersed with the novels which portray life in Iowa with a shading to the drab on one side and to the sentimental, Pollyannaish on the other, came a flood of novels, often sordid, portraying the biological rather than the romantic side of life. Sometimes because of the frank emphasis on sex, sometimes in spite of it, some novels of this type have become best sellers. People outside of Iowa, knowing only of the fertility of corn, hogs, and cattle in Iowa, have read these novels and accepted them as true pictures of Iowa life. After all, to some of these readers, the farmer was only a little above the farm animals.

The shortening of the hours of factory workers, improvements in heating, lighting, and cooking facilities, movies, all the swift moving additions to urban life were slow to reach the farms. To many city dwellers absence of leisure, luxuries, and conveniences indicated a lack of intelligence, culture, and even morality. Novels which depicted farm people or small town residents as coarse, uninteresting, morbid, dull, catered to the urban sense of superiority. The woman of leisure in the childless apartment felt superior to

the farm woman who did housework the hard way, reared her children, and helped with the chickens and the garden, not because she gave more to society, but because she got more, or thought she did. The man who made a quick fortune from the losses of others considered that he was more intelligent than the "hick" who raised corn and hogs to feed the hungry and for the most part trusted his fellow men because he himself was honest.

Novelists found that it was profitable to play upon this cleavage and they have continued to feature it long after the difference between farm and city dwellers has all but disappeared. Of course there are farmers who would not feel at home among business and professional men, but there are also social misfits in cities. In clothes, club membership, newspapers, radios, social affairs, and education farm people now take their places with their city cousins. Their hands may be harder, their fingernails not long and polished, their work clothes suited for outdoors rather than the office, but in Iowa "a man's a man for a' that".

When "Main Street" ceased to be interesting because it represented the "sticks", some novelists added spice in the way of profanity, immorality, and vulgarity. Iowa readers have accepted these novels or at least tolerated them. For one thing being realists and honest, they recognized that there was some truth in the pictures presented. Life in Iowa was narrow and hard, there was not enough time for recreation, for culture, for art, for music, for literature. There was not enough money for travel. Dimly they knew that this condition was not limited to Iowa, but it was true here. Who knew it better than Iowans.

But there was another and less justifiable reason why Iowans accepted these out-of-focus novels. They feared the ridicule of the sophisticated, the "Old Lady from Dubuque" slur. A reader who objected to filth in a novel

might be classed as Puritanical, unable to appreciate realistic literature. Frankly, too many Iowans had an inferiority complex which made them slow to resent misrepresentation. Moreover, many readers appreciated or thought they ought to appreciate the skill of the writer, although even the writing was often mediocre.

In *Elmer Gantry*, Sinclair Lewis presented a picture of a hypocritical, sex-obsessed minister, certainly not representative of the group. Hartzell Spence called the recent biography of his father *One Foot in Heaven*; surely then Elmer Gantry had one foot in Hell. Phil Stong's *State Fair*, widely acclaimed as a true picture of farm life in Iowa, was casually described by one reader as a novel in which the only decent character was the prize pig, Blue Boy. Certainly it is not a true picture of what happens to the thousands of Iowa families that park their cars in the State Fair grounds each summer.

There are tragedies in Iowa life, frustration, hypocrisy, immorality, failures, cruelty, bigotry, sex problems, repression, poverty — all the vices and misfortunes humanity has manifested everywhere. These traits may well be described in particular characters to illustrate universal types. But many modern novelists see only the particular time or place. Iowa farm families are dull, drab, overworked, uncultured, repressed, say these novelists. They accent the *Iowa*, not seeing the whole picture.

Iowans, according to some of these novelists, are slaves to biologic urges, not interested in the finer things of life, again accenting *Iowans*. They frame part of a picture, a piece of a cross-word puzzle, and present it as realism. A hog wallowing in the mud is not more real than a sunset, although it must be admitted, it is likely to remain longer in one's vision especially if one must feed the brute twice a day. But the well-dressed, bright-eyed farm youths who

show their pigs and baby beeves at the fairs are not likely to become merely men with hoes, looking always at the earth. The Iowa boy and girl who were among the five 4-H Club health champions at the International Livestock Show in 1940 show no signs of depression or frustration. Nor was this unusual. The Iowa representative in this health contest has won first place, tied for first place, or shared in blue ribbon honors nine times in the past seventeen years.

GLIMPSES OF PRAIRIE CULTURE

The cosmopolite may sneer at the parlor organ of the past and the high school bands and orchestras of the present, but it is probably due to these forms of musical training that Walter Damrosch could say in 1928 "Iowa is the most musical State in the Union". Generalizations and "mosts" are often exaggerations, but one has only to watch the parade of school bands at a Music Festival at Iowa City, listen to a 4-H Club chorus at Ames, or visit the Cornell College Music Festival to realize that Iowa is developing musical ability among its people. That a large number of the participants in these activities will contribute nothing in the way of creative music is perhaps true, but this is true also of musicians in the East.

Significant of the support of musical organizations by small local communities is the Cedar Falls band, which has been in existence over forty years, has had only three leaders, and has a band home valued at \$30,000, with \$10,000 worth of equipment. In 1930 and 1931 this organization won first place in the Chicago Band Music Festival, and always has high rank. Another well-known and historic musical organization is the Luren Singing Society at Decorah, which began as a group of Norwegian singers in 1868 and is said to be the oldest organization of its kind in the United States. In 1933, the Luther College Concert Band played

at the Century of Progress Fair at Chicago while the Schola Cantorum toured the Pacific Coast, the two organizations using approximately one-third of the student body.

Among musical contributions by Iowans are: "The Little Brown Church in the Vale", by William S. Pitts, an Iowa country doctor; "In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree", by Egbert Van Alstyne; "Have Thine Own Way, Lord", by Adelaide A. Pollard; "Bow Down Thy Ear", an anthem by the Hungarian-born Elias Blum, now a teacher at Grinnell College; "By the Waters of Minnetonka", by Thurlow Lieurance; and "The Iowa Corn Song", a popular folk song, with music by George Botsford and words by George E. Hamilton. Frederic Knight Logan was a composer of such popular waltzes as "Pale Moon" and "Missouri Waltz".

In 1894 a man named Thomas W. Herringshaw compiled a volume which he called *Poets and Poetry of Iowa*. His idea was to issue a similar anthology each year, but apparently this was the only volume. It contains one or more poems by more than 150 Iowans, about equally divided between men and women. One of these poets was Eugene Secor, a president of the Iowa State Horticultural Society, the North American Bee-Keepers' Society, and the Winnebago County Agricultural Society. This combination of agricultural interests and poetry is not unique in Iowa. Ray Murray, a former State Secretary of Agriculture, has recently published several volumes of poems. Many of the verses in Herringshaw's collection are merely sentimental rhymes (sometimes not too good in rhyme) but after all one sieves a lot of poetry everywhere to find a little shining gold.

Mr. Herringshaw missed one of the best-known poems by an Iowan — "There Is No Death", the single surviving poetic contribution by John L. McCreery, a rather unsuc-

cessful newspaperman in a small Iowa town and government clerk at Washington, D. C. Another much quoted poem written by an Iowan was the sentimental "If I Should Die Tonight", by Arabella Eugenia Smith.

Perhaps the most Iowan of Iowa poets was the late Jay G. Sigmund. His poem "Man Child" tells the poignant story of many an Iowa father who was proud of his farm, rejoiced at the birth of a son who was to help till the acres, and toiled early and late to educate the boy because

Even if they should farm they ought to know
The things a school can teach — a right good school!

But at school the boy found other interests and the farmer waits in vain for his son to return to carry on the farm.

"I'm getting old," he said, "and George, my boy,
Has got a job he can't afford to quit."

This has been and still is one of the tragedies of Iowa. Paul Engle also presents these conflicts and does it well. It is easy, however — and dangerous — to slip from protest to a sense of futility. Facing unpleasant facts with courage usually means progress; despair is a prelude to failure. Realism in poetry, as in fiction, can present a jaundiced view of life.

Drama was one of the earliest recreations in Iowa. The Iowa Thespian Association at Dubuque advertised a performance of "The Glory of Columbia" the very year the Territory of Iowa was established. Showboats, plays, and minstrels were common visitors to Iowa towns, especially those along the Mississippi River, before the Civil War. Performances of outstanding plays are unfortunately usually for one night only, but local theatrical groups, women's clubs, and high schools give opportunity for dramatic expression. The University theatre at Iowa City is especially

successful in dramatic work. Grant Fairbanks, the student who took the part of Death in *Death Takes a Holiday* in 1934, needed to make no apology to Frederic March whose interpretation of the play on the screen appeared in Iowa City the following week. Nor did Clark Kuney in the recent presentation of *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* suffer by comparison with Raymond Massey.

RECREATION

It is probable that the people who settled Iowa were more versatile in providing amusements for themselves than were the second-generation Iowans following the Civil War. These early Iowans had been places, had seen things. If professional actors did not visit the settlements, they organized their own casts. Dances, sleighrides, spelling schools, singing schools, fairs, baseball, lecture series, horse races, lyceum programs — all were means of pioneer recreation. In most cases they were self made, like the government and the furniture.

Chautauquas introduced outside talent, often not of the first class, but mentally and socially stimulating nevertheless. Then came movies, flickering shadows, which slowly steadied into pictures and voices that rivalled and in some ways surpassed the legitimate theater. Much as movies have been criticised, they have done much for the people in outlying communities. Instead of the expensive and difficult transportation of a star actor or actress for a one-night production and that limited to the larger towns, how easy it is to transfer films which on the silver screen become adventure, romance, or history.

But these amusements have not been the only ones for modern Iowans. Seventy-four State Parks with a total of more than twenty thousand acres are visited each year by over two million persons. Golf, tennis, picnics, travel are

common if not commonplace. Characteristic of the Corn Belt are the corn husking contests attended by as many as a hundred thousand spectators. Iowans travel east and west, north and south. Parking an Iowa car beside the Lincoln monument at Washington, D. C., the Old North Church in Boston, the home of the famous Dionne sisters in Canada, or the Hollywood Bowl in California, one is likely to find another Iowa car close by. Iowans know more about the East and the West, than residents of these sections know about the Middle West.

EQUALITY AND REALITY

Indeed, in looking over this hundred years of Iowa history, Iowans appear to be at a disadvantage in only one respect. There is little leisure. There are several reasons for this. For one thing, Iowa has, probably, the least spread between wealth and poverty in the United States — not equality, but not the wide gulf between rich and poor that one sees in Kentucky, New York, or California. Leisure classes often grow out of exploitation of some kind.

Such leisure classes may develop art and literature, music and drama, but if one group is nourished at the expense of the bodies and the brains of others, its culture is in the end futile. So long as a country, a State, or a community produces men and women who carry the torch of civilization, so long there is hope for the future. And Iowa has done this. From her farms and stores, her schools and churches, have come leaders in every field of human endeavor. Within the past few months Grant Wood has received national recognition in art, W. W. Waymack for editorial excellence, Frank L. Mott in history and journalism, George Gallup attracted national attention in forecasting public opinion, Welker Cochrane won the billiards championship, Nile Kinnick was acclaimed the most valuable

player in football, and Bob Feller was awarded the same distinction in baseball. Many others might be added.

Practical rather than theoretical, kind rather than sentimental, industrious rather than "slick", the people of Iowa live close to the soil, too close for the soft-handed sophisticate who considers himself superior because he puts profanity and vulgarity into print, too close to nature for the people who wish to escape the struggle for existence. But Iowans are close enough to the soil to know the cost of food, clothing, machinery, and other things in human labor, close enough to physical labor to appreciate leisure, close enough to the earth to renew their strength year after year, as Antaeus regained strength each time he was thrown to the ground.

Life in Iowa is not easy. Cold, heat, storms, hard work, low prices, all take their part in making life hard. But civilizations which developed in countries that were always warm soon lost their stamina, and culture without virility back of it soon withers and dies. Why should critics belittle Iowa because there is manure as well as music, corn as well as culture, pigs as well as paintings, wheat as well as wisecracks? Iowa stands first in many of the material products of the soil, in corn, hogs, horses, oats, and fat cattle, but it also stands at the top in such other achievements as literacy, in per capita telephones and radios, and in the production of oatmeal and washing machines. Why should Iowa be portrayed as a "hick" State? The epithet of "Corn and Bible Belt", bestowed in contempt may well be accepted as many other titles have been — Christians, Yankees, Methodists — as a worthy title. This Iowa may well be proud of the combination of material and spiritual gifts.

RUTH A. GALLAHER

THE CAPITOLS AT DES MOINES

When Iowa became a State in 1846 Iowa City was designated as the capital city. Scarcely had statehood been established, however, when agitation was begun for removal of the capital to a more nearly central point within the State. In 1847 a site in Jasper County was agreed upon for a new capital and named Monroe City. This site was soon abandoned, and Oskaloosa, Pella, and Fort Des Moines became the leading contestants for capital city honors. In 1855 Fort Des Moines (incorporated as Des Moines in 1857) emerged as the winner of the contest; the General Assembly passed a measure which provided that a site should be selected within two miles of the junction of the Des Moines and Raccoon rivers in Polk County.

SELECTION OF A SITE

The law for the removal of the capital provided that five commissioners should be appointed by the Governor to select the exact site. The commissioners were authorized to obtain at least as much land as was necessary for the government buildings and as much in addition as it might "be practicable to obtain without charge to the State". It was also stipulated that the capital should remain at Iowa City until such time as buildings were erected at the new site "without expense to the State."¹

In accordance with the provisions of this law Governor James W. Grimes appointed Joseph H. D. Street (a son of Joseph M. Street, who had come to Iowa as Indian agent),

¹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1854-1855, p. 105. For a discussion of the contest for relocation of the capital see Briggs' *Removal of the Capital to Des Moines* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 72-95; *Laws of Iowa*, 1856-1857, pp. 281-296.

Stewart Goodrell, Benjamin R. Pegram, Guy Wells, and John A. L. Crookham as the locating commissioners. Pending the decision of this commission great excitement prevailed in the vicinity of the Raccoon Forks. Fort Des Moines and the settlers west of the Des Moines River appeared to have the advantage. A donation of twenty acres of land valued at nearly \$100,000 and the possibility of purchasing at a fair price other lands worth approximately \$200,000 were inducements offered by citizens living west of the river.

Members of the commission, however, favored a site east of the river, and on April 21, 1856, a tract of land containing a little more than ten acres, donated by Willson Alexander Scott and Harrison Lyon, was selected as the site for the new capitol building. The location was described by Governor Grimes as "a gentle swell of land about three quarters of a mile east of Fort Des Moines, and on the east side of the river. It commands a good prospect and seems to be well adapted to the purpose for which it has been selected." This area is designated in the records as "Capitol Square" and is the site of the present State Capitol.²

On the 29th of April, 1856, Thomas K. Brooks and Willson A. Scott conveyed five and sixty-one hundredths acres of land to the State of Iowa. This was located a little south and east of Capitol Square, and was familiarly known as Governor's Square. At the same time James A. Williamson and Thomas A. Walker executed a bond guaranteeing to convey to the State a little more than two acres of wooded area a few blocks north and east of Capitol Square. This was later known as State Square.

T. S. Parvin, Register of the State Land Office in 1857,

² Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 36. The selection of a site east of the river gave rise to accusations of fraud, but these were never proven.—*Report on Alleged Frauds in the Location of the Capitol*, pp. 1-29.

said that these areas were situated "upon beautiful wooded eminences, and the policy of the State should be to 'spare the trees,' protect and improve the grounds by a good, substantial fence, and otherwise, and guard against that vandalism which pervades so generally in this State to destroy, that the succeeding generation may have something to do in repairing their ravages. Better, far better, at less labor and expense, preserve the beautiful groves of native growth, than in after years expend greater sums to replace them."³

Soon after this real estate was acquired by the State measures were taken to preserve and improve it. When the Seventh General Assembly met in 1858, it passed a law appropriating the sum of \$1500 "for the purpose of fencing and otherwise improving the plat of ground known as the Capitol Square".

At that time it was not certain that the title to the land was entirely clear and this measure provided that it should not be "construed into any waiver by the State of any right of the State by reason of any defect in the title to said plat of ground, if any such defect exist, nor into any waiver of any right of the State by reason of any objection to the action of the Commissioners appointed to select and locate such plat of ground, if any such objections exist."

PLANS FOR A TEMPORARY CAPITOL

To provide a building to be used as a temporary capitol without cost to the State, Thomas K. Brooks, Willson A. Scott, James A. Williamson, Joseph M. Griffith, Harry H. Griffith, Alexander Shaw, J. D. Cavenor, Harrison Lyon, and other public spirited citizens organized themselves into

³ *Report of the Register of the State Land Office*, December 1, 1857, in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XIII, pp. 470, 471; Brandt's *Removal of State Capital to Des Moines* in the *Proceedings of the Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1902, p. 79.

a Building Association. They purchased lots eleven and twelve in block six, Scott's addition to the town of Des Moines, and began erecting a brick capitol building.

Plans for the new building were published in the *Iowa City Republican*, June 5, 1856:

The building is to be 100 feet long by 56 wide, and three stories high. The first floor is divided into eight or ten committee rooms, and an office and vault for the Treasurer of State. The second floor is divided into rooms for the Governor and other State officers, a Supreme Court Room and Library Room, both of which are 21 by 43 feet each. The third floor into two capacious halls for the House and Senate — the former 48 feet [by] 58 [feet] in the clear — the latter 32 by 53 feet — both chambers to be provided with an eighteen foot ceiling, and the whole building to be heated with furnaces. The Representatives and Senate Hall besides being capable of accommodating one-third more members than are authorized by the Constitution, will also be supplied with large and convenient lobbies.

The contractors for this building were Willson A. Scott, John Hyde, and John Bryan. John P. Huskins was foreman on the work from September 19, 1856, to September 1, 1857. The contract price for the building was \$37,000. It was understood that when the building was completed it would be leased to the State at a nominal rental.

In 1857 a writer described this building in the following words:

It is situated on a fine eminence on the east side of the Desmoines River, overlooking the entire city. It is composed of brick, with the sills of the windows and foundations made of cut stone. The dimensions of the Capitol are one hundred feet long, and fifty-six feet wide. The first story is eleven feet between floor and ceiling; the second is eleven and a half; the third is eighteen feet. The Senate Chamber is fifty-six [feet] long, and thirty-four wide. The Representative Hall is fifty-six feet long, by fifty wide. The Supreme Court Room is fifty feet long by twenty-four wide. The State Library Room is thirty-four by twenty-four, and the State Office Rooms, each, are twenty-four by twenty-three feet. The building is

roofed with tin, and the style of Architecture is Ionic. The entire height of the Dome is eighty-five feet. A bell has been contracted for, weighing fifteen hundred pounds. There is also a fire vault, the dimensions of which are nine feet by eleven. The Building fronts the Public Square [Capitol Square] on the north, and the city on the west, and will be completed by the 1st. of May, 1857.

Although the masonry work for the new structure was completed in October, 1856, the building was not finished and ready for use when the Sixth General Assembly convened in December of that year; the General Assembly again convened at Iowa City, and there was some thought that a removal to Des Moines might yet be prevented. An Iowa City newspaper hopeful of continued delay expressed the thought that it would be "the part of wisdom to keep the Capital where it is, until permanent buildings are erected; in view of the accessibility of Iowa City and the unquestioned fact that it is the centre of the more populous part of the State."⁴

There was some agitation in the Sixth General Assembly to repeal the law of 1855 locating the capital at Des Moines. Indeed an act for this purpose was introduced in the House of Representatives on January 12, 1857, but it was tabled the following day. The agitation for repeal was augmented by a lack of understanding in regard to the land and buildings that were being provided at Des Moines. Many people became alarmed when they learned that the temporary capitol building was being erected by private funds on private grounds and was not to be owned by the State. For a time it appeared that the repeal might carry, but the building committee explained that a lease had been executed whereby the State would have the continued use of the

⁴ *Laws of Iowa*, 1858, p. 253; Lathrop's *The Capitals and Capitols of Iowa* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. IV, p. 111; *The Washington Press*, March 25, 1857, quoted in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 90, 91.

building for a rental of one dollar per year. This explanation seemed to satisfy the critics. At all events work was continued, and the new building was the scene of a public celebration on July 4, 1857. Speeches were made by Thomas K. Brooks, Thomas A. Walker, and others. It is reported, too, that William Lowry, one of the master mechanics, "hoisted the stars and stripes on the flag-pole on the dome, it being the first flag raised on the new capitol." The building was first occupied by State officers in November, 1857, and by the General Assembly in January, 1858.

ALLEGATIONS OF FRAUD

While the capitol building was being erected there was widespread criticism of the commissioners who had been named to locate the capitol site. There were two charges.

First — that the commissioners in selecting the location on the east side of the Des Moines River did not act with a "strict regard to the interests of the entire State", and

Second — that they, or a majority of them, were improperly influenced in their decision, and were induced to make this selection for the promotion of private and personal interests, and that a bribe or bonus was given to the commissioners for their decision.

On February 11, 1858, a special committee in the House of Representatives, consisting of L. G. Collins, H. Anthony, B. Milliser, D. A. Mahony, and George W. McCrary, was named to investigate these charges. On March 20th, four members of the committee — Collins, Anthony, Milliser, and Mahony — submitted a report to the House of Representatives. In this the committee expressed "the opinion that each and all of the Commissioners did not act with a strict regard to the interests of the entire State".

With regard to the second charge, these members of the committee were of the opinion that Mr. Pegram, one of the

locating commissioners, "did receive a bribe or bonus in consideration of his vote for the location of the Capitol." They also expressed the opinion that although some of the other members may have been influenced by personal or private interests there was not sufficient evidence to sustain the charge of fraud.

Mr. McCrary, the fifth member of the investigating committee, filed a separate report. He expressed the view that the committee was not required to judge whether or not the locating commissioners acted for "the best interests of the State". The sole question for consideration, he thought, was whether they "wilfully disregarded the interests of the whole State". Except in the case of Commissioner Pegram, he did not find sufficient evidence to sustain the charges. With the rendering of this report criticism of the locating commissioners subsided.⁵

LEASING THE CAPITOL

Another question that confronted members of the Seventh General Assembly was the authority by which the government officials were using a capitol building that did not belong to the State. On February 11, 1858, a committee in the House of Representatives, consisting of D. A. Mahony, A. M. Cassiday, and Thomas Mitchell, was named to investigate this question.

On the same day this committee reported that on the 12th of January, 1857, the Capitol Building Association had adopted a resolution authorizing Alexander Shaw to lease the building to the State, "for the sum of one dollar per annum, or any other sum that the State may agree to pay for the use of the same, and for such length of time as the State may continue to occupy the same for the use of the

⁵ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XIII, p. 470; *Proceedings of the Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1902, pp. 77-81; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1858, pp. 711-717.

officers of State and for the meeting of the General Assembly.”

In accordance with this resolution Alexander Shaw, on January 15th, executed a paper which purported to be a lease for an indefinite period of years. There was no evidence, however, to show that the State had accepted the lease. Accordingly, the committee was of the opinion that “the paper purporting to be a lease of the Capitol Building to the State, is of no legal effect, and that the State occupies this building by mere sufferance.” In view of this situation D. A. Mahony was appointed to confer with the Capitol Building Association and was authorized to have a new lease executed.⁶

PURCHASE OF THE BUILDING

In reality, however, the building was not erected entirely with private funds, nor was it used rent free in accordance with the original plans. It appears that members of the Capitol Building Association were loyal and conscientious men, who were anxious to make good their promise to provide a building without expense to the State. But public sentiment was somewhat divided, local support was not always assured, and a depression was making money scarce.

When members of the Association found themselves unable to provide private funds with which to meet financial obligations, they borrowed money from the school fund and completed the building. To obtain this money the borrowers agreed to pay ten per cent interest and mortgaged their own property as security. This program was carried forward, it is said, “on the indefinite assumption that the city, or county, or both, would come to the borrowers’ relief, inasmuch as the entire city, and county, would be benefited by the location of the capitol.” The borrowers were inter-

⁶ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1858, pp. 267, 272, 273, 307.

ested in east side real estate, and hoped to "make good" in any event, by the increase in land values.⁷

Indeed, in March, 1856, Mr. Scott wrote that he had laid out "upwards of eight hundred lots", which he was selling at a price ranging from one hundred to three hundred dollars per lot. He thought they would double in value in one year, "and if the capitol should come on my side they would more than do that." But the panic of 1857 prevented increased land values and brought financial distress.

Despite these conditions the building program was completed and the capital was removed to Des Moines. When the Seventh General Assembly convened there in 1858, J. A. Williamson, a member of the Capitol Building Association, and others, petitioned that body to purchase the capitol building as the simplest way to effect a just settlement. The petition was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, but no further action was taken by the General Assembly, and two years passed before the question could be presented again.

Meanwhile, the hard times of 1857 and 1858 sadly affected Willson Alexander Scott. Perhaps he had been too generous. Still a young man, with the spirit of adventure strong within him, he joined an expedition leaving for Pike's Peak, with the hope of regaining his wealth. In June, 1859, while en route westward, Scott became ill and died at Fort Kearney, Nebraska. His remains were returned to Des Moines and interred on Capitol Hill not far from the capitol building.⁸

⁷ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1856-1857, pp. 289, 290; Briggs' *Removal of the Capital to Des Moines* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 91-93; Brigham's *History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 149.

⁸ Brigham's *History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 149; *Journal of the Senate*, 1858, p. 241; Huntington's *Willson Alexander Scott* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XIII, pp. 254-260.

When the Eighth General Assembly met in 1860 Governor Ralph P. Lowe in his biennial message recommended purchase of the building. He called attention to the fact that the money borrowed from the school fund, through the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, with ten per cent interest up to that date amounted to \$52,130. The building costs, including lots and interest, had been \$53,733.61. Moreover, the divided public sentiment in regard to the particular site to be selected had precluded the possibility of erecting the building at the common expense of the town or county, thus imposing an unusual burden upon the builders. "These men", the Governor said, "are quite unable to supply the State with so large and costly a building for nothing. The State ought not to consent to become a pensioner upon this bounty. It cannot do so without compromising its magnanimity. She ought to own this building—it is convenient, substantially built, and worth the money it cost."

The Governor further called attention to the fact that the State officers and employees had occupied the building for two years, and that important changes had been made in the building—"inconsistent, perhaps, with the legal rights of the proprietors". In this situation he "gravely suggested whether the interest and honor of the State would not be quite as well subserved, by directing the mortgages against these men to be cancelled, assume the liabilities to the School Fund, and pay to them the difference between this fund and the cost of the building".⁹

On March 7, 1860, Nathaniel B. Baker, Representative from Clinton County, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to purchase the building in compliance with the recommendations of the Governor. The bill was read

⁹ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1860, pp. 38, 39; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XIII, pp. 258, 259.

a first and second time and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. On March 13th, this committee reported, recommending that the bill "do not pass". Accordingly, the measure was lost in the House and was never presented to the Senate.¹⁰

This was the situation which confronted Iowa at the beginning of the Civil War. The capital had been removed to Des Moines. A capitol building had been erected, ostensibly by the use of private capital, but in reality by the employment of money borrowed from the school fund at a high rate of interest. The builders could not repay the money they had borrowed nor could they afford to maintain the building rent free. They were caught on both horns of the dilemma — what was best to do, or what could be done in justice to all parties interested became a matter of much concern. Meanwhile, war measures occupied the attention of members of the Ninth General Assembly, in 1862, and nothing was done with regard to the capitol building.

In 1864, six years after the State had taken possession of the capitol building, provision was made for purchase of the building. On March 28th of that year Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood approved a measure which had been passed by the Tenth General Assembly to make a final settlement in this matter. By the provisions of this law the Census Board and the Attorney General of the State were constituted a Board of Commissioners to arrange terms of settlement. They were authorized to arrange for the purchase of the capitol building and to release from further obligation the makers of the school fund notes when a good and sufficient conveyance of title to the property, unencumbered, should be made to the State. Thus the State finally

¹⁰ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1860, pp. 388, 389, 421, 435; Brigham's *History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 149.

paid for the capitol building with interest at ten per cent “making good the diverted school fund”, and “saving the State the humiliation of driving a hard bargain”. In making this adjustment the State relieved the builders of further losses which might have resulted because their enthusiasm for securing the capital had exceeded their ability to provide for its needs.¹¹

Prior to the purchase of the building by the State some changes and repairs had been made at State expense. Other changes were made a little later. These alterations included rebuilding the roof, “adding a cupola”, the installation of two furnaces, and building a fence around the “State House”. But with these changes the capitol building was still not commensurate with the needs of the growing State.

FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW

There are those who believe that the character and reputation of a State may be indicated by the housing of its governing bodies. “A grand building, displaying the noble lines and proportions of elegant architecture, is an object lesson and source of instruction for all the people. Like a superb monument to a national hero, it awakens noble sentiments, and is an inspiration to a loftier plane of thought and of life.” So it was in the decades of the sixties and seventies that Iowa statesmen aspired to build for the State a new capitol — one that would be commensurate with its needs and in keeping with the prosperity, the pride and dignity of the State.¹²

¹¹ Brigham's *History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 149; *Laws of Iowa*, 1864, pp. 106–108. The Census Board consisted of the Governor, the Secretary of State, Auditor, and Treasurer. Its duties were later transferred to the Executive Council.—*Code of 1860*, Sec. 993; *Laws of Iowa*, 1874, p. 59.

¹² Kasson's *The Fight for the New Capitol in the Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 252.

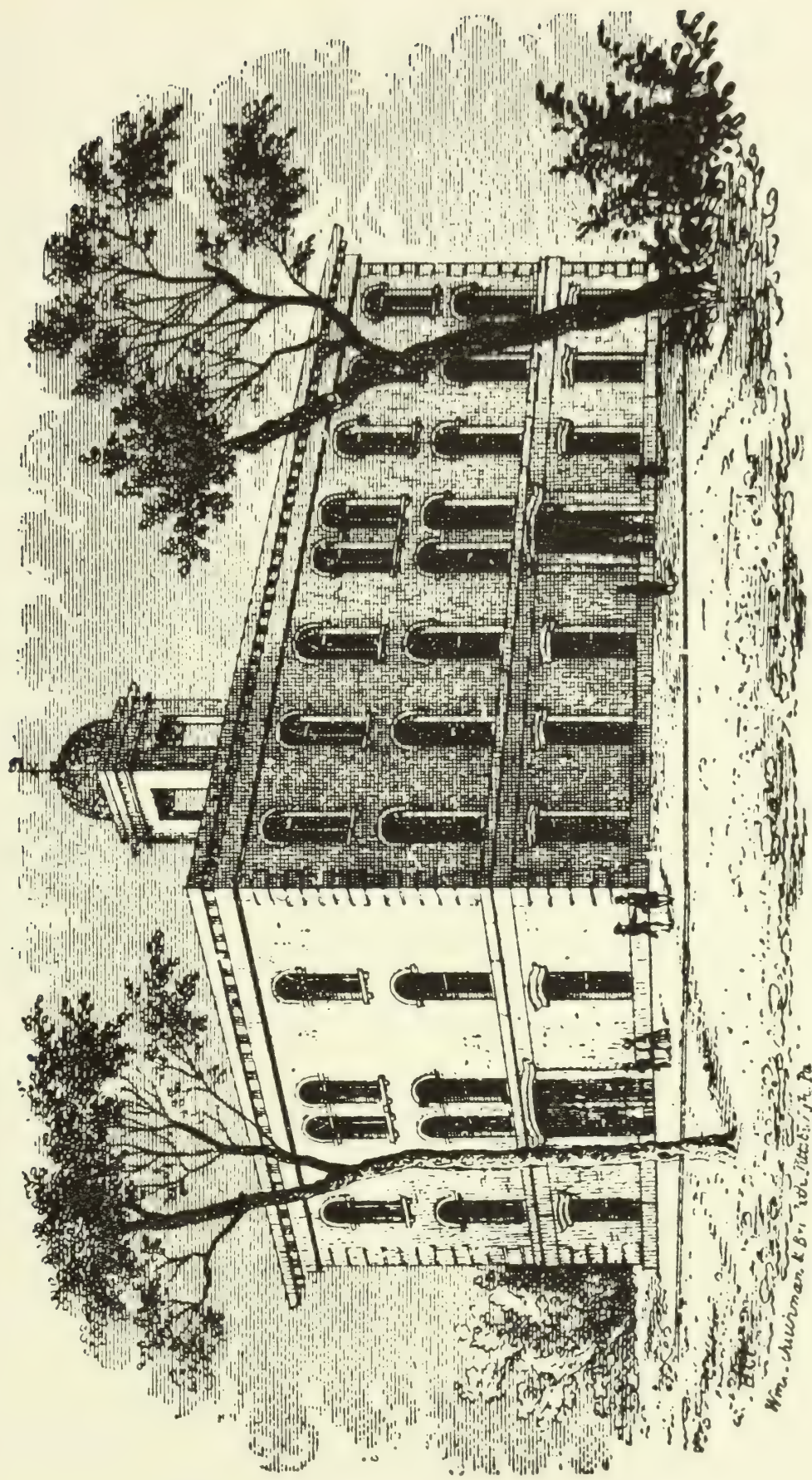
The old brick capitol had never been quite adequate for the needs of the State. And as the years passed by there was some apprehension that dissatisfaction might open the way for reviewing the whole question of the permanent location of the capital. Indeed, there were interests in various parts of the State that would have welcomed a campaign for a new capital site. But there were also many interests that advocated the building of a new capitol at Des Moines.

When the Twelfth General Assembly convened in January, 1868, Governor William M. Stone, in his biennial message, called attention to the unsafe condition of the State House, with its "cracked walls", its "unsecure foundation", and its "admitted incapacity for the purposes required". He said that the building, constructed largely of wooden materials with articles of a combustible character scattered through its various apartments, and having no vaults or fireproof rooms, was a constant fire hazard. In case of fire, valuable libraries, documents, and archives might be burned, and the State suffer an irreparable loss. The possibility of such a calamity, he thought, was sufficient to command the immediate attention of legislators.

Accordingly, he recommended that commissioners be appointed to select plans for a new building, "that they be empowered to commence the work at the earliest day practicable, and that an appropriation be made sufficient to carry it forward until the next meeting of the General Assembly."¹³

In accordance with Governor Stone's recommendation the Twelfth General Assembly appropriated the "sum of fifteen thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the construction of a fire-proof vault", and other necessary repairs, "to render the present capitol building

¹³ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1868, p. 26.



THE OLD BRICK CAPITOL AS ERECTED IN 1857

fit for the purpose for which it is used, until a new capitol building shall be erected and completed.”

To accomplish this purpose excavations were made, the building was raised somewhat, and a basement story was constructed. S. A. Robertson was the contractor for this work, the greater part of which was done in the fall of 1868. As early as July 15th a bill for \$500 was presented for “excavating”; five days later an additional bill for \$300 was presented. During the month of August bills totaling \$1300 were allowed for work and materials. In September and October more than \$3000 was expended, and in November more than \$8000 was paid out.

One of the items of interest in the remodeling program was the “building of 12 chimneys”. Evidently some of these were used for stoves or fireplaces, and some for furnaces, as another item of expense was for the “Setting of Furnaces”. Other items included the building of vaults, papering, painting, and frescoing. An item of \$49 was allowed for oak posts “for fencing”, \$1.25 was allowed for a half day’s “work on flag-staff”, and \$20 was paid for “40 feet Lightning rod and Repairs on Old Capitol”.¹⁴

BUILDING THE NEW CAPITOL

Notwithstanding the extensive repairs on the old capitol, the chief interests in the decade of the sixties and seventies were directed toward the erection of a new capitol. Citizens of Des Moines and Polk County were particularly interested in this development. Polk County was represented in the Senate of the Twelfth General Assembly by Jonathan W. Cattell and in the House of Representatives by John A. Kasson and J. H. Hatch. Mr. Hatch was named chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings in the House of Rep-

¹⁴ *Laws of Iowa*, 1868, p. 126; vouchers in the archives at the Iowa State Department of History and Archives.

representatives and at once started a campaign to secure legislation for a new capitol building.

On the first of February, 1868, he introduced a bill authorizing the building of a State House at a cost of not to exceed \$1,500,000. Amendments were at once introduced to limit the expenditures to \$1,000,000 and then to \$600,000, and an attempt was made to delay the building program until the next session of the General Assembly. One of the amendments, evidently intended to incumber legislation and delay construction, provided that "no contract shall be made for stone or lime, nor for the transportation of the same, nor for the erection of stone work, nor for other material, except for the foundation, until after railroad transportation can be had within the State reasonably direct between Des Moines and the Chicago and Northwestern Railway." After several amendments had been adopted and the cost had been limited to \$1,000,000, the bill passed the House by a vote of fifty-five to thirty-six.¹⁵

In the Senate there was a motion for a substitute bill, another motion to table the measure, and a third motion for indefinite postponement. When all of these motions failed, there was a barrage of amendments intended to defeat the purpose of the bill. Finally the bill was amended to provide for a study of plans to be submitted to the next General Assembly instead of providing for actual construction. It was agreed that the plans might be enlarged to include a building program up to \$2,000,000. Thus at the close of the Twelfth General Assembly the new capitol was not yet born. It "was only authorized to be born in case the next General Assembly should permit it."¹⁶

¹⁵ Kasson's *The Fight for New Capitol* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 241-244; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1868, pp. 168, 184, 257, 284, 289, 291, 297, 298, 299, 315, 582, 591, 634, 639.

¹⁶ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 245, 246; *Journal of the Senate*, 1868, pp. 259, 295, 525.

The law which provided for the drawing of plans and specifications designated that the Census Board should constitute a Board of Commissioners, and that this board should advertise in two daily papers of the State and in one newspaper in each of the cities of Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia to obtain the desired plans and specifications. The plans were to be of three types. The first would be for a building to cost one million dollars, the second for a building valued at one and one-half million dollars, and the third for a building to cost two million dollars. Provision was also made for the testing of stone, and an appropriation of five thousand dollars was made to defray expenses.

Pursuant to this law the Census Board advertised in the Des Moines *Daily State Register*, the *Daily Davenport Gazette*, the *Daily Chicago Tribune*, the *Daily New York Tribune*, and the *Philadelphia Press*. To induce competition among architects the board offered an award of \$1200 for the most practical and meritorious plan in each group. Fourteen plans were presented of the several styles designated. From these the plans presented by W. W. Boyington of Chicago, and by J. C. Farrand of Des Moines were selected as the best, for a preliminary study by the legislative bodies.¹⁷

When the Thirteenth General Assembly met in 1870 efforts were renewed for the building of a new capitol. Polk County was represented in the Senate by B. F. Allen and in the House of Representatives by John A. Kasson and George W. Jones. A. R. Cotton of Clinton County was Speaker of the House, and Samuel Murdock of Clayton County was chairman of the Building Committee. George E. Griffith was chairman of the Building Committee in the

¹⁷ *Laws of Iowa*, 1868, pp. 125, 126; *Report of the Census Board on Plans for a New Capitol Building in Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1870, Vol. II, Report No. 30, pp. 1, 2.

Senate. These were the men who would in a large measure direct the destiny of the capitol building legislation. The opposition was led by Charles Dudley of Wapello County, M. E. Cutts of Mahaska County, J. W. Traer of Benton County, and Joseph Ball of Jefferson County.

Since the measure had been introduced in the House and defeated at the previous session, it was decided to reverse the order and introduce the bill this time in the Senate. Accordingly, on January 27, 1870, Senator Griffith introduced a measure for the building of a capitol, and the bill was passed by the Senate without special incident.

In the House the opposition was organized for an immediate, aggressive, and long-continued contest. In opposition to the building program it was argued that it was "a mere local enterprise for the benefit of Des Moines", that the finances of the State were in a bad condition, and that such expenditures could not be made without increased taxes. In presenting these arguments poverty was portrayed in forceful terms, and children were described as "running around with their little knees protruding through their pants, their coats all ragged and tattered and torn", and their fathers had gone to the county seat to pay their taxes which would "go into that magnificent State House."¹⁸

In the face of this opposition John A. Kasson led the debate in favor of the bill. The preliminary stages of the bill were passed by such narrow margins that Mr. Kasson and his friends delayed four weeks before they called the bill up for final passage. Meanwhile it became apparent that the bill could be passed only if certain specifications were included. The bill was amended to provide that no money should be appropriated until the Census Board should cer-

¹⁸ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 246, 249, 251; *Journal of the Senate*, 1870, pp. 79, 86, 512, 521.

tify to the Treasurer of the State that payment could be made without increasing the tax rate. Two commissioners at large were named in the bill. At length these were agreed to and on April 8, 1870, the bill was read the third time and placed on its passage. It passed the House, and was soon agreed to in the Senate. Thus after a long and bitter fight the General Assembly of Iowa had approved the building of a new capitol.¹⁹

This law which was approved on April 13, 1870, provided that the work should be carried forward by a Board of Capitol Commissioners consisting of the Governor, who should be *ex officio* president of the Board, and six members to be chosen by the Senate and House of Representatives in joint convention each to represent a congressional district. In conformity with this law, Governor Samuel Merrill became president of the board, and James Dawson, S. G. Stein, James O. Crosby, C. Dudley, J. N. Dewey, and Wm. L. Joy were named as members. Grenville M. Dodge of Pottawattamie County and James F. Wilson of Jefferson County were named in the law as the Commissioners from the State at large. Thus there were nine members, all Republicans. The compensation fixed in the law was five dollars per day and expenses.

In commenting upon this law some years later John A. Kasson said that the "selection of the commissioners of the building was not left, as it should have been, to the responsibility of the Governor, nor even to the earnest friends of the new Capitol. Two of them, selected at large, were forced into the bill by the rider on its third reading, as an alleged condition for votes. Six others were nominated by congressional districts, and elected in joint legislative con-

¹⁹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 254-257; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1870, pp. 195, 201, 202, 258, 259, 315, 316, 317, 319, 564, 565, 574, 605; *Journal of the Senate*, 1870, pp. 79, 86, 94, 116, 127, 128, 130, 135, 504, 505, 506, 512, 521, 593-597.

vention. My earnest request for a non-partisan board was not granted. The commission was too large, and the choice in most instances were dictated by partisan and personal considerations. We feared the results; and the results were bad.”²⁰

On May 25, 1870, Governor Samuel Merrill convened the Capitol Commissioners at Des Moines. Representing various areas of the State, it is not strange that they had varied opinions about the types of stone to be used and where it should be obtained. To aid in the solution of this problem scientific tests of stone from various areas were made by Professor Gustavus D. Hinrichs of the State University of Iowa, and by Lieutenant W. P. Butler of the United States Arsenal at Rock Island, Illinois. In October, 1870, the Commissioners, relying upon the findings of these men, awarded a contract for stone to O. H. P. Scott of the Orford Quarries in Tama County. Local prejudices, however, soon led the Board to rescind this action, and in May, 1871, materials were obtained from a quarry west of Des Moines. Later stone was quarried along Rock Creek in Van Buren County.²¹

From the architectural plans submitted, those designed by J. C. Cochrane and A. H. Piquenard, with some modifications, were chosen. On June 13, 1871, workmen began laying concrete for the foundation of the new building. The following month the Board selected James Appleyard to superintend the construction of the building.²² With plans

²⁰ *Laws of Iowa*, 1870, pp. 129-132; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 257.

²¹ Dey's *Recollections of the Old Capitol and the New* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, pp. 88-90; *First Biennial Report of the Board of Capitol Commissioners* (1870-1871), pp. 1-28.

²² *Iowa State Weekly Register* (Des Moines), June 14, July 5, 1871. Piquenard had been the architect of the Capitol recently erected at Springfield, Illinois, to take the place of the one designed by John F. Rague who was the architect of the Capitol at Iowa City.

apparently well in hand the cornerstone was laid on the 23rd of November, 1871.

At the laying of the cornerstone James F. Wilson gave the introductory address, which was followed by a historical paper by Governor Samuel Merrill. A poem was read by J. B. Grinnell, and an address was given by John A. Kasson who presented to the Governor a silver trowel from the architects and a silver mallet from the superintendent of construction. Inscribed on the cornerstone were the names of the nine Commissioners and Cochrane and Piquenard, the architects. For the moment all seemed well.

But obstacles to the building program soon became apparent. When the basement walls were nearing completion defects were observed in the structure. Peter A. Dey, commenting upon this situation, said: "Whatever may have been the merits of the Rock Creek stone, unfortunately they were quarried late in the fall, put in the wall full of moisture, or as is termed by the stonemen, 'quarry sap', and soon severely cold weather cracked a considerable number of them."²³

When it was learned that the materials used in the foundation were not of the best quality, public sentiment was at once aroused. On February 27, 1872, Senator Joseph Dy-sart of Tama County offered a concurrent resolution providing that a committee of five, two members from the Senate and three from the House, be appointed to inspect the work. Meanwhile the Board of Capitol Commissioners itself became aware of its inability to serve the best interests of the State. In its first biennial report on January 1, 1872, this body said:

That in the opinion of the Board, it is the best policy for the State, that the Board of Capitol Commissioners should consist of

²³ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, pp. 88-90; *Iowa State Weekly Register* (Des Moines), November 15, 1871.

not to exceed three persons, in which both political parties should be represented, who shall be appointed for the time occupied in building the Capitol, subject to removal by the Governor or Legislature, for cause only, and that they should be paid a salary that would justify them in giving their whole time to the discharge of their duties during the continuance of the work.²⁴

Likewise, on January 10, 1872, in his biennial message, Governor Samuel Merrill recommended that a new board of three or five members be created, that the members "be selected for their peculiar fitness for the work without regard to locality", that they be chosen from both political parties, and be paid full-time salaries. He also recommended that an "annual appropriation" of not less than \$150,000 be made to carry the work forward.

In accordance with these views the Fourteenth General Assembly passed a law which created a Board of Capitol Commissioners of five members. It consisted of the Governor, who was *ex officio* president, John G. Foote of Des Moines County, Maturin L. Fisher of Clayton County, and Robert S. Finkbine and Peter A. Dey, both of Johnson County. General Ed Wright was early named as Secretary of the Board. Mr. Foote was a retired merchant, Mr. Fisher an educator and a student of architecture, Mr. Finkbine an experienced builder, and Mr. Dey a trained engineer. The Governor and Commissioners Foote and Finkbine were Republicans; Fisher and Dey were Democrats.

The law which established this Board also appropriated the sum of \$100,000 for the year 1872, and \$125,000 annually thereafter. The Board was authorized to make contracts for sums totaling \$1,380,000 with a view of completing the building at a total cost of \$1,500,000.²⁵

²⁴ *Journal of the Senate*, 1872, pp. 201, 202; *First Biennial Report of the Board of Capitol Commissioners* (1870-1871), pp. 27, 28.

²⁵ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1872, p. 32; *Laws of Iowa*, 1872, pp. 41, 42; Johnson's *Peter A. Dey*, p. 162.

When the new Commissioners began their work the controversy over the materials used and to be used in the foundation of the capitol building was still unsettled. The chief questions confronting the Commissioners at their first meeting in April, 1872, were: Should the foundation stones already in place be removed? What new quarry should be selected? How should the architectural designs be modified?

In an attempt to find a proper solution, Mr. Finkbine and Mr. Dey were assigned the task of examining the work that had been done. After deliberating upon this matter it was their judgment that the entire basement walls should be removed. Other members of the Board were of the opinion that only the disintegrated portions of the foundation need be dismantled. In the end, however, it was thought best that the entire structure be removed.

In reaching this conclusion Mr. Finkbine is quoted as saying: "Whether the capitol costs the State fifty thousand dollars more or less is a matter that will soon be forgotten, but any failure in the foundation will be a source of regret as long as the building stands." This attitude of obtaining the best ultimate values for the State characterized the Commissioners throughout the building program.²⁶

When the Commissioners found it necessary to take down the foundation walls built by their predecessors, they boxed up the cornerstone, intending to reset it with its original inscriptions. In 1873, however, the adjourned session of the Fourteenth General Assembly, by joint resolution, directed that "all inscriptions of names, dates and figures" be erased from the stone, and that only the word "Iowa", and the year of the final placement of stone be inscribed upon it. Accordingly, when the cornerstone was

²⁶ Dey's *Robert S. Finkbine and His Associates in the Erection of the Iowa Capitol* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, p. 213; Johnson's *Peter A. Dey*, p. 163.

finally laid there appeared on the west face only the word "Iowa", and on the south side the simple inscription "A. D. 1873".

Later it was learned that despite legislation on this subject, J. G. Waers, the mason who redressed the cornerstone, left his name upon it. At the bottom of the large letter "I" in "Iowa" Mr. Waers cut a small letter "J", on the letter "O" he placed a small letter "G", at the bottom of the letter "W" were two small letters "W" and "A", at the bottom of the large letter "A" were the small letters "E" and "R", and hidden in the period at the end of the word "Iowa" was the small letter "S". More than three score years of weathering have defaced the stone, but even now the letter "S" in the period is still visible, and perhaps one might be able to trace the other small letters. But they are almost invisible.

To facilitate the work of the Board, it was decided that an executive committee should be selected and given charge of the details. Dey, Finkbine, and Fisher were named on this committee while John G. Foote was made superintendent of finance.

The cost of removing the defective walls amounted to \$52,343.76. The expenditure of this sum of money further complicated the problem before the Commissioners, since it used up some of the funds which had been appropriated. In this situation it seemed necessary to change the plans of construction in order to save money, and to arrive at the best solution the Commissioners sought the advice of Edward Clark, architect of the Capitol Extension project at Washington, D. C. Mr. Clark advised reducing the costs by leaving out the basement story and the domes, making the capitals of the columns and the cornices of cast-iron instead of stone, using cheaper materials where they could be used, and eliminating ornamental designs. The Com-

missioners thought that the basement rooms were necessary and desired to adhere to the original plans, but agreed to the use of cheaper materials where that seemed advisable.

Fortunately the General Assembly came to the relief of the Commissioners and supplied additional funds. The Fifteenth General Assembly in 1874 granted an additional appropriation of \$125,000, and the Sixteenth General Assembly in 1876 appropriated \$250,000 in addition to the annual appropriations, making a total of \$1,755,000.²⁷

The increased appropriations indicated an increased popular interest in the capitol building and gave the Commissioners a new incentive to carry on. As a result further increased appropriations were requested. In this the Commissioners had the support of William Larrabee, chairman of the Appropriations Committee in the Senate and later Governor of Iowa.

The original architectural plan for the building as designed by Cochrane and Piquenard proved to be quite satisfactory, and the Commissioners followed it with comparatively little change. During the building period there was, however, a change in the personnel of the architects. Early in 1872 Mr. Cochrane resigned, and Mr. Piquenard became the sole architect. In November, 1876, Mr. Piquenard died and Messrs. M. E. Bell and W. F. Hackney, who had been assistants to Mr. Piquenard became the chief architects.²⁸

After the materials used in the basement of the Capitol had been found to be defective, the Board of Capitol Commissioners awarded to Munson and Turner the contract to furnish the stone for the entire building from their quarries near Quincy, Illinois. The contractors were unable, however, to comply with their agreements and were later

²⁷ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, pp. 91, 92; *Laws of Iowa*, 1873, p. 26, 1874, p. 57, 1876, pp. 144, 145.

²⁸ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, p. 93; *Fourth Biennial Report of the Board of Capitol Commissioners* (1876-1877), p. 9.

released from their obligation. Stone for the basement was then secured at the Old Capitol Quarry in Johnson County; and for the superstructure stone was obtained chiefly from Ste. Genevieve and Carroll County, Missouri. Granite was obtained from "prairie boulders" in Buchanan County, Iowa, and dark colored rocks were obtained from Sauk Rapids, Minnesota. Outside steps and platforms are of the "Forest City" stone, near Cleveland, Ohio. The materials for columns, pilasters, and piers came from Anamosa, Iowa, and from Lemont, Illinois.²⁹

With building materials available and with appropriations increasing from time to time, the Commissioners made substantial progress in the decade of the seventies. During the two years ending in December, 1875, the basement story was built, the iron beams for the second or office story were put in place, the corridors were arched over, and a greater part of the office story was built. During the next two years the walls of the office story were completed, and the wing south of the main dome was almost completed. In addition to this, the balance of the exterior walls were built to the windows sills of the gallery story, the columns and piers supporting the dome were set through the office and hall stories, the arches turned over them, and the dome walls were carried to the level of the Senate Chamber ceiling.³⁰

On February 5, 1879, Maturin L. Fisher died. He had been an experienced and valuable member of the Board. "Happily", said the other members of the Board, "Mr. Fisher lived long enough to see the capitals of the columns and the cornices constructed of stone." He was succeeded on the Commission by Cyrus Foreman of Osage.

²⁹ Lathrop's *The Capitals and Capitols of Iowa* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. IV, p. 114; Beall's *The Iowa State Capitol*, pp. 6, 7; *Second Biennial Report of the Board of Capitol Commissioners* (1873-1874), pp. 44, 45; *Final Report of the Board of Capitol Commissioners* (1886), p. 8.

³⁰ *Final Report of the Board of Capitol Commissioners* (1886), pp. 8, 9, 10.

At this time the building program was progressing rapidly and the Commissioners asked that thereafter all appropriations be made general and not for a specific part of the building. "The building", they said, "has reached a point where the construction must be carried on systematically and on some general plan. We know of no method of securing this so advantageously to the State as to leave the appropriations untrammelled. The Commissioners, who for eight years have devoted time, thought, and study to the subject, should be better qualified than anyone else to conduct the finish of the building and decide the order in which each of the parts should be finished." Later appropriations were made in accordance with this recommendation.³¹

At this stage in the development of the building program a committee consisting of Finkbine, Dey, Wright, and Bell was appointed to consider the subject of heating and plumbing. They visited the State Capitol at Lansing, Michigan, and many large buildings in the eastern States, and employed Levi R. Green of Boston, Massachusetts, to prepare plans and specifications for the heating system. These plans were adopted by the Commissioners with only minor changes.

While visiting the Capitol at Lansing the Commissioners were impressed with the library which extended to the top of the building. As a result of this visit, the height of the library room in the Iowa Capitol was increased from 29 feet to 44 feet 9 inches.

The plan to be followed in the construction of a dome had long been a question in the minds of the Commissioners — a large dome accompanied by smaller ones having been suggested. After a more thorough consideration of this matter they agreed that the architects of the Renaissance

³¹ *Fifth Biennial Report of the Board of Capitol Commissioners* (1877-1879), pp. 7, 9, 10; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, p. 94.

period had derived the idea as well as the form of the dome from their conceptions of the arch of the heavens. "The conviction of the commissioners is that changes should be made in the dome to make it conform to those structures that have for centuries demanded the admiration of artists, architects, and the world generally, as models of beauty and elegance. It is possible that in the anxiety to attain great height many of the modern architects have lost sight of the idea of the dome and trenched upon the steeple". The dome as adopted was a copy of that of the *Hotel des Invalides* in Paris. Its height is two hundred and seventy-five feet. After the plans for the construction of the dome had been adopted there was still a question about its decorations. Foreman and Dey favored gilding the dome, while Finkbine and Foote opposed the idea. They believed that gilding was a manifestation of luxurious life, not entirely in harmony with Iowa ideals. Governor John H. Gear, near the close of his administration, was called upon to cast the deciding vote in this matter. He favored gilding. The question was again raised after Governor Buren R. Sherman came into office. He likewise favored gilding, and his vote was decisive.³²

When the building was completed it provided rooms in the basement for the State Board of Health, Mine Inspectors, and the Board of Pharmacy. On the second or office floor, rooms were available for the Commissioner of Labor, the Horticultural Society, the State Land Office, the State Treasury Department, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the Railroad Commissioners, and the Agricultural Society. There was also a suite of rooms for the Governor's offices. In recent years arrangements have been made for a relocation of some of these offices.

³² *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, pp. 95, 96.

On the third floor the Hall of the House of Representatives — a room 74 feet by 91 feet, 4 inches, and 47 feet, 9 inches high — occupies the north wing. The Senate Chamber, 58 feet by 91 feet, 4 inches, and 41 feet, 9 inches high, is in the south wing.³³

The legislative portion of the building was completed and dedicated to its future use on January 17, 1884. In delivering the dedicatory address, John A. Kasson said:

Our first prayer beneath this high dome is, that here the moral and political foundations of this imperial State may be so deeply and so wisely laid that remote generations shall recall and celebrate the wisdom and the virtues of their ancestors who in the nineteenth century erected and occupied this solid mansion of the State.

It is for us all a source of profound gratification that from the day when the present Commissioners assumed control, with their accomplished Superintendent of Construction, the legislative bodies have never withdrawn from them their confidence. Not one act of speculation or spoliation, not one coin wasted or vainly spent, has defaced the bright record of their administration. It shall be a part of the legacy we leave our children that all these vast and durable walls have been laid in the cement of honesty, and built by the rule of fidelity. More proud of this legend are we, than of all these classic columns and brilliant domes which please the eye and gratify the taste.

On June 30, 1886, the Board of Capitol Commissioners made its final report to Governor William Larrabee. The exterior of the building had been completed. The Commissioners had served long and well. In concluding their report they said:

While there have probably been mistakes made, they think they can safely challenge, in every particular, any building in the country for a comparison in cost, in workmanship, in material or in its adaptation to the purposes for which it is intended. In a period when the builders of almost every important work have been severely

³³ Beall's *The Iowa State Capitol*, pp. 6, 9, 11; *Journal of the Senate*, 1884, p. 24.

censured, and their actions impugned, the public has dealt kindly with the Commissioners. No criticism from any source, or, at least, any respectable source, has been made upon their management.

The public has awarded to them all that could be asked — its confidence.

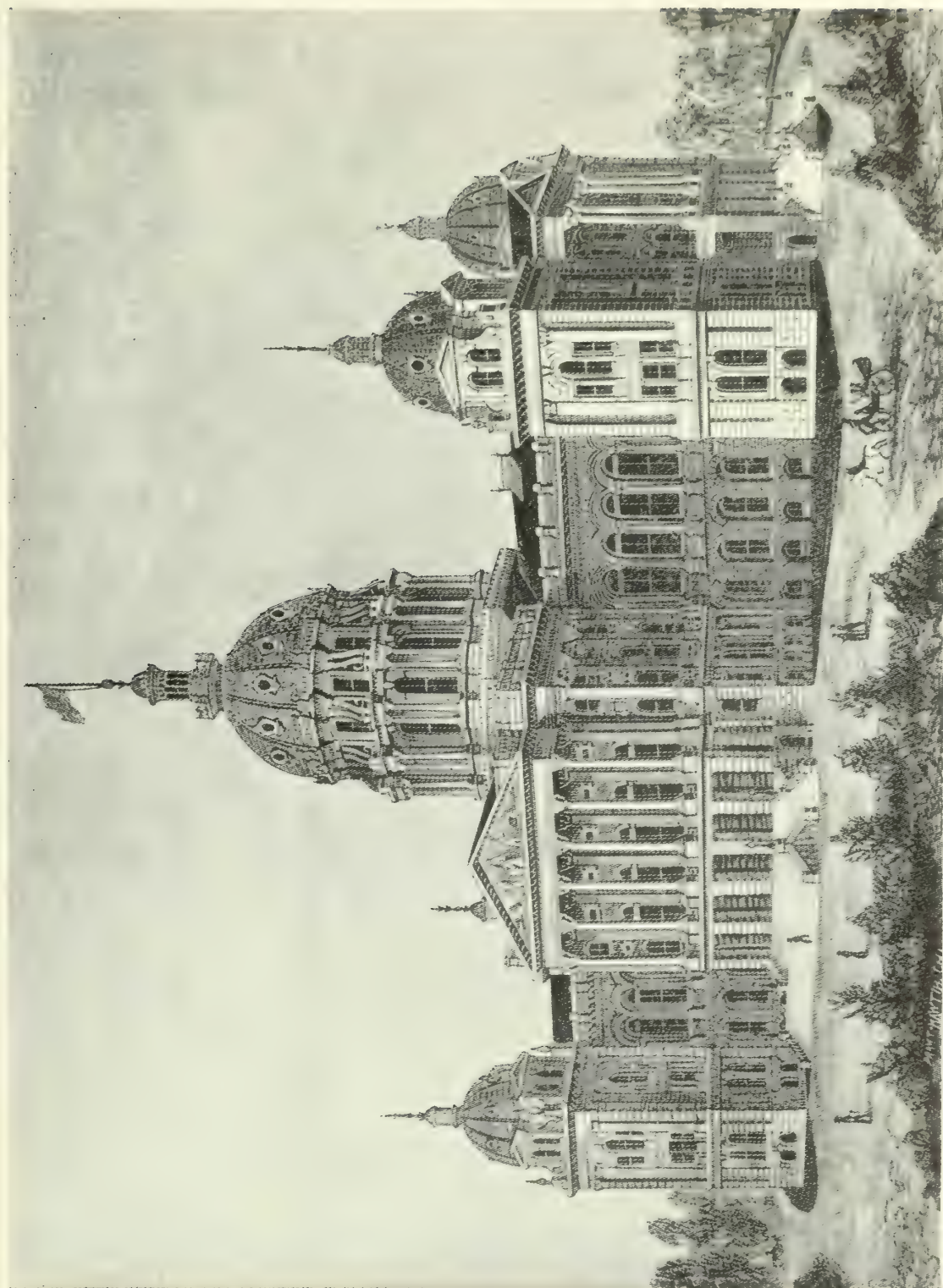
At the time of making this report, the Commissioners had spent \$2,873,294.59. They had erected a beautiful and substantial capitol building, and had in every way rendered a commendable service.³⁴

When the new Capitol was completed, its gilded dome shown brightly in the sunlight, and the entire building was widely known for its beauty. The interior finishings were in keeping with the exterior. The mural decorations and frescoes were done by Fritz Melzer, a German artist. When, in 1902, it was decided to decorate the corridors and rotunda in a manner befitting such a building, the Capitol Commissioners sought a competent artist to do the work. Elmer E. Garnsey of New York was employed to make a general design and superintend the work. Mr. Edwin H. Blashfield was engaged by him to paint the large allegorical picture that now adorns the head of the staircase. Kenyon Cox and Frederick Dielman were engaged to decorate the rotunda and the arcade above the Blashfield painting.³⁵

Scarcely had the new Capitol been finished and its interior decorations completed when on January 4, 1904, the building was the scene of a disastrous fire. Prior to this time it was believed that the building was virtually fire-proof. But despite this belief, the Chamber of the House of Representatives and the adjacent committee rooms were “eaten out by the flames”, and it was only by heroic efforts that the fire was brought under control.

³⁴ *Final Report of the Board of Capitol Commissioners* (1886), pp. 15, 47.

³⁵ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, pp. 387, 388; Hamlin's *Mural Paintings in Iowa* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 234-244.



THE PRESENT CAPITOL AS PICTURED IN 1888

Governor Albert B. Cummins was an active member of the group of fire fighters. "Clad in high rubber boots and rough coat, the chief executive cast gubernatorial dignity aside and worked as hard as any one in fighting the fire." Gilbert S. Gilbertson, Treasurer of State, was also among the men busy at the scene. When it appeared that the entire building might be destroyed, Mr. Gilbertson directed that a wagon be driven to the door of the treasury office to receive books and valuable papers. But instead of "books", bags containing \$25,000 in money were quickly loaded into the wagon and taken to the Capital City Bank.

The fire loss was estimated at from \$300,000 to \$500,000. The State carried no insurance on the building, but the loss was only a fraction of what it might have been.³⁶

THE PASSING OF THE OLD BRICK CAPITOL

When the new Capitol was completed and occupied the old Capitol was for the most part vacated and allowed to deteriorate. In 1885 what had been the "old library" was repaired for use by the State Board of Health, but this use was only temporary. Three years later the Twenty-second General Assembly authorized the Executive Council to sell "the Old Capitol Building" and the lot on which it stood, "in such manner, and on such terms as may be deemed for the best interest of the State." Prior to the sale the Executive Council might lease the property on such terms and for such purposes as it might think best.³⁷

But the building was not sold, nor was it leased or rented in a satisfactory manner, and it continued to deteriorate with the passing of the years. In January, 1892, William L. Carpenter, Custodian of Public Buildings and Property,

³⁶ *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), January 5, 1904.

³⁷ *Biennial Report of the Auditor of State, 1883-1885*, pp. 33, 34; *Laws of Iowa, 1889*, p. 231.

in his report to Governor Horace Boies said: "The old Capitol building remains unoccupied and in a dilapidated and dangerous condition. I would suggest that the Executive Council be authorized to dispose of the building and secure its removal." At this time the Grand Army of the Republic was in its heyday, and there was agitation for the erection of a monument in honor of the soldiers and sailors who served in the Civil War. Accordingly, on April 7, 1892, the Twenty-fourth General Assembly authorized the erection of such a monument and donated the site of the old Capitol to be used for that purpose.³⁸

While plans were being made for the erection of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument the old Capitol stood unoccupied, biding the time when the work of dismantling should begin. Meanwhile, on the afternoon of September 1, 1892, fire was discovered in the old building. A Des Moines paper in reporting the fire said:

Capt. Lyon immediately notified the central station, and in a short time the fire department was on hand. But little could be done to save the structure on account of lack of water. For the first fifteen minutes there was not sufficient force to carry the water to the second story. The firemen, at the imminent risk of their lives, carried the hose up and by that means secured a small stream. The roof and third story were entirely destroyed by fire, and the balance of the building drowned out by water. The loss, in a sense, is nothing, since the structure was about to be torn down to make room for the soldiers' monument. The cause of the blaze is unknown, but it was probably kindled by some boys who were noticed playing about the building a few minutes before it broke out.

The old state house was the historic building of Des Moines. It was constructed just before the final location of the capitol in this city and was the scene of all the stirring events in the commonwealth until the new capitol was completed. It saw the historic war session of the legislature, under the famous war governor,

³⁸ *Biennial Report of the Custodian of Public Buildings and Property*, 1890-1891, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1892, Vol. III; *Laws of Iowa*, 1892, pp. 94-96.

Kirkwood. There the news was received of the splendid charge of the Second Iowa at Fort Donelson and the capture of that fortress. Kirkwood, Carpenter, Gear, Sherman, Stone, Merrill were inaugurated there. Allison and Wilson were elected senators the first term within its walls. The old building was full of reminiscences of the earlier days of the state, but it had filled its mission and was long since given over to the owls and bats.

After the fire, for the protection of the public, the remaining walls were dismantled. The old brick were used for the fire walls at the boiler room, while the old lumber was used for sidewalks and for kindling. Where the "Old Brick Capitol" once stood there was soon erected a stately monument in honor of those who had served in the Civil War.³⁹

IMPROVEMENT OF THE CAPITOL GROUNDS

After the Capitol was repaired, it appeared again in its original beauty, with its gilded dome and decorated interior. The Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, erected at a cost of \$150,000 in 1894, was also attractive. In contrast to these, however, some of the buildings nearby were dilapidated and unsightly. Pictures taken by Edgar R. Harlan as late as 1913 and published with those of a later date in the *Annals of Iowa*, for July, 1923, show a very apparent need of expanding and beautifying the Capitol Grounds.

Suggestions of such improvement had come as early as 1890 when Governor William Larrabee in his second biennial message said: "The improvement of the capitol grounds ought to be begun at an early day. The grounds should be in keeping with the capitol, which is one of the most beautiful on the continent." The Governor thought that the sum of \$125,000 would probably be sufficient to

³⁹ *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 2, 1892; *Biennial Report of the Custodian of Public Buildings and Property*, 1892-1893, p. 3, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1894, Vol. I.

complete the work. At the same time the custodian of buildings recommended that \$50,000 be appropriated annually for each of three years for a completion of this work.⁴⁰

In 1900 Governor Leslie M. Shaw, seeing the need of expansion and improvement of the Capitol Grounds, recommended that the two blocks directly north "be immediately purchased, or obtained under condemnation proceedings." Nothing would be saved by delay, he said, and the erection of substantial buildings upon this property by the owners might increase the costs. Location of public buildings, he thought was a matter of prime importance. "No location is too good for Iowa", he asserted, "and none but the best should be considered."

In 1909 Governor Warren Garst urged that a suitable setting be provided for "our magnificent State Capitol." It stands, he said, as a "monument to the good judgment of those who planned it," but the task is not complete. Provision had in part been made for the interior decorations, he said, but the exterior and environment had been neglected. Accordingly he recommended the appropriation of \$150,000 for Capitol Grounds improvement purposes.

In January, 1913, Governor Beryl F. Carroll expressed a view that a "comprehensive scheme for enlarging the Capitol grounds should be adopted", and he made specific recommendations with regard to the purchase of land. A few days later Governor George W. Clarke, in his inaugural address, again urged extension and improvement of the Capitol Grounds. "We build", he said, "for those who are to come after us. We should have a vision of what Iowa is to do and be. In the extension of the grounds regard should be had for a better setting of the Capitol."

⁴⁰ Harlan's *Proposed Improvement of the Iowa State Capitol Grounds* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XI, p. 102; Harlan's *A Decade of Improvement* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XIV, pp. 3-32; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. VI, p. 180.

In a special message to the General Assembly on March 26, 1913, Governor Clarke recommended improvement of the Capitol Grounds as a matter of good business policy. He said:

If looked at only as an investment, it would be a remarkably good one. By extending the payment for the grounds over a period of ten years it would bring no burden at all upon the people. Never again can the purchase of ground be so advantageously made as now. Iowa should do business as competent successful business men do. Advantage should be taken of the time and the opportunity. Iowa should announce that she is of age and full-grown. She should step out of the old conditions that hamper and restrain her into the new. The legislature should be unafraid. The people will sustain you. When the work is done they will ever refer to you as the legislature that was far-seeing and wise enough to extend the Capitol Grounds, . . . What man is there of you that will lose this the greatest opportunity of his life to render a great public service. Listen not to the voice of selfishness. Tolerate not the "invisible" man. For more than ten years practically all legislation and all political agitation in this country has been against human selfishness. Let it proceed. The rights of all men must be put above the selfishness of a few men. Go forward. Your duty, as it seems to me, is plain.⁴¹

As early as 1900 a law was passed providing for commissioners to improve the Capitol Grounds. At that time, however, funds were not made available for extensive improvement and little resulted from this movement. In 1913 the problem was attacked with new vigor and enthusiasm. Pictures were taken to show the dilapidated condition of buildings surrounding the Capitol. On March 2nd the Des Moines *Register and Leader* printed a large diagram of the proposed improvements, that had been prepared by E. L. Masqueray, and printed a story by E. R. Harlan concerning the plan.

The magnitude and scope of the plan was criticised in

⁴¹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XI, p. 103.

various quarters of the State, and the plan was referred to as a \$2,000,000 park program for Des Moines. On April 10th a measure was approved by the Thirty-fifth General Assembly providing for a comprehensive improvement program. This measure was attacked as having been passed without having been given due publicity. On April 27th Governor George W. Clarke defended the measure in a published statement in which he declared that sufficient publicity had been given to the measure, and that it had been carefully studied before it was passed.⁴²

The new law authorized the purchase of real estate and provided that "there shall be levied annually for a period of ten (10) years, commencing with the first levy made after the passage of this act, a special tax as follows; in each of the years 1913 and 1914 one-half mill on the dollar of the taxable property of the state, and in each of the remaining eight years such rate of levy to be fixed by the executive council, as will yield approximately one hundred and fifty thousand (\$150,000) annually."

The opponents to the extension program contended that this provided for a State debt in excess of the constitutional limitation and the measure was attacked in the courts. But in December, 1913, it was upheld by the Supreme Court of Iowa. In accordance with this law, by 1915 the Executive Council had purchased real estate and buildings near the Capitol at a cost of nearly a million dollars, "and thus the way was cleared for the proper placement and adequate setting of the buildings, monuments and memorials which in coming years would adorn Capitol Hill."⁴³

As a part of the improvement program the land surrounding the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, and indeed

⁴² *Laws of Iowa*, 1900, pp. 129, 130; *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), March 2, April 27, 1913.

⁴³ *Laws of Iowa*, 1900, p. 129; *Rowley v. Clarke*, 162 Iowa 732; Harlan's *A Narrative History of the People of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 272, 273.

the whole Capitol Grounds area was landscaped, and the Allison Memorial was erected. These improvements, together with the historical building — now occupied by the State Department of History and Archives — which had been erected a few years before, gave the Iowa Capitol appropriate and beautiful surroundings.⁴⁴

Thus the task of providing an adequate and attractive State Capitol was one of statewide interest for many years. For more than fifty years after the capital was moved to Des Moines there was urgent need of Capitol improvement. But through the years Iowa built substantially and well. While there is still need of expanded office space, and an Executive Mansion would be welcomed, yet Iowa's Capitol and its surroundings on Capitol Hill are at once expansive, substantial, and beautiful.

JACOB A. SWISHER

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
IOWA CITY IOWA

⁴⁴ Weed's *Handbook of Iowa Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument*, pp. 8-111; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XI, pp. 71, 106.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE IOWA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

June 25, 1940

Herewith is a brief statement of the work of the Iowa Archaeological Survey for the fiscal year 1939-1940, directed by the undersigned as a Research Associate of the Graduate College of the State University of Iowa.

1. The very large amount of archaeological material, more than 20,000 specimens, added to the State collection during the year called for an unusual expenditure of time in the laboratory. The filing of this material, the assignment of serial numbers to each lot, and a partial study and analysis looking toward publication were done by the undersigned; the lettering and numbering of each specimen was done by Mr. James McQuigg, a junior NYA student in Cornell College, who was assigned to me as a laboratory assistant.

2. Correspondence to keep in touch with the many observers throughout the State who report their finds to the office of the survey was somewhat more voluminous than usual. For a number of years this has totaled about four hundred letters annually. Some of the letters received clearly indicate the discovery of important, hitherto unknown, village sites which will need examination in the field. Others indicate the presence of hitherto unknown collections of material that are available for study or perhaps ready for transfer to the State of Iowa. It might be noted here that since the inception of the survey twenty-six private collections of undoubted scientific value have been donated to the State. There is an increasing appreciation of the fact that no other disposition of what was in many

cases an important and cherished life interest gives promise of equal permanence and usefulness. There is also a growing tendency for collectors to keep fuller records and to concentrate solely on local materials.

3. Some seven lectures have been delivered in various places in Iowa. In April a paper on southwestern Iowa archaeology was read at the Indianapolis meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. The magazine of the Society, *American Antiquity*, for January, 1940, pp. 259-261, contains my review of Titterington's *The Cahokia Mound Group and Its Village Site Materials*.

4. Most of the field work for the year, which began on June 5th and closed on November 17th, was concentrated on excavations in two village sites lying ten and twelve miles respectively northwest of the business section of Sioux City. As in 1938, Mr. Ellison Orr of Waukon was field supervisor in charge of the excavations done by a crew of ten WPA workers. Mr. Orr's long experience in handling work crews, his competence as a surveyor and draftsman, and his abilities as an archaeologist all made his continued availability for the season a matter of great good fortune.

The more northerly site excavated, the Broken Kettle, is situated on the bank of Broken Kettle Creek about one mile from the confluence of this creek with the Big Sioux River. The site is small, less than an acre in extent, though the village refuse beneath the barns, sheds, and feed lots of an old farmstead is still eight feet in depth. From the 559 linear feet of trenches excavated here, averaging about six feet in width and all carried down to sterile soil, some twelve thousand potsherds, implements, and ornaments of stone, bone, shell, and antler, and examples of village refuse in the way of animal, fish, and bird bones, spalls of flint and quartzite, mussel shells, charred vegetal remains,

and the like, were collected and shipped in to the laboratory. Notebook entries, photographs, drawings, and plats were made to locate specimens and to make clear their associations.

In contrast with the Broken Kettle, the Kimball site two miles to the south lies in the middle of the open terrace of the Big Sioux River; like the Broken Kettle, except that it is about twice as large, the site is a low mound of village refuse intermixed with soils brought in by the village inhabitants. Work on the Kimball site began on August 28th. Three hundred and fifty-three linear feet of trenches were run, averaging six feet in width. As at Broken Kettle, most of the trenches had to be put down eight feet in order to reach the sterile soil beneath the village refuse. As the post molds of three houses were found at the eight-foot level and as the houses contained small storage pits, the excavations reached in certain places a depth of ten feet. The archaeology of the Kimball site proved to be nearly the same as that of the Broken Kettle, namely, the Big Sioux focus of the Mill Creek prehistoric culture. No evidence whatever was found in either site to connect the builders of these villages with history. We know thus far only that their culture was of the Mississippi, not the Woodland, pattern. The variety of culture traits indicated by the conditions found and the artifacts collected is unusually great, possibly the most complex thus far recorded for the Upper Mississippi Valley. The puzzling fact is presented, for example, of a strange mixture of Middle and Upper Mississippi features. Most of the eight thousand specimens from the Kimball site, together with the twelve thousand from the Broken Kettle, are still to receive detailed study and analysis in the laboratory.

5. Materials added to the Iowa collection during the year, in addition to those obtained by excavation under our

own supervision, included some sixty representative potsherds from the Fire Steel and Twelve Mile sites near Mitchell, South Dakota, and about the same number from the Nece site of Buena Vista County, Iowa. The former were the gift of Mr. W. H. Over, Director of the University Museum, Vermillion, and the latter were excavated and donated by Mr. Frank L. Van Voorhis of Alta. Both collections are additions to our Mill Creek culture materials, the one the Fire Steel and the other the Little Sioux focus.

6. Three trips were made to the field by the writer for the inspection of excavations near Sioux City and for conferences with Mr. Orr; for the study of recently excavated materials at Vermillion, South Dakota; and for an interview with a University of Nebraska party doing excavations near Homer, a few miles southwest of Sioux City. About eighteen days were thus spent, most at our own excavations at the Broken Kettle and Kimball sites.

7. This spring Mr. Orr's reports of field work were received, consisting of one hundred and thirty-seven typewritten pages, besides many maps, plats, drawings, and photographs. An extra copy of the typewritten sheets is being made by the State Historical Society of Iowa, the originals being on paper too heavy to permit the taking of carbon copies.

CHARLES R. KEYES

MOUNT VERNON IOWA

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Western Mercantile Participation in the Indian Trade, by Lewis E. Atherton, is one of the articles in *The Pacific Historical Review* for September, 1940.

The Impasse of Democracy, by Ernest S. Griffith, was published by Harrison-Hilton Books, Inc., New York. It is a study of the trends in government which have grown out of the industrialization of the world.

Camp Morton 1861-1865 Indianapolis Prison Camp, by Hattie Lou Winslow and Joseph R. H. Moore, has been published recently as number three of Volume XIII of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications*.

The Frontier Intrigues of Citizen Genet, by William F. Keller; and *The Fenian Brotherhood*, by Schuyler Dean Hoslett, are two articles in *Americana* for October, 1940, which are of interest in the middle west.

The *Journal of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.*, for September, 1940, contains *Some Aspects of the Presbyterian Church on the American Colonial Frontier*, by Guy S. Klett.

Iowa historians have long been interested in the eastern range of the buffalo or bison. *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* for October, 1940, contains an article on *The Western Limits of the Buffalo Range*, by Francis D. Haines.

The Year Book of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies for 1940 includes *An Integrated Program for Historical Agencies*, by Dr. Harlow Lindley; and *The National Park Historical Service*, by Dr. Frederick Tilberg.

The Parade of World's Fairs, by Frank Monaghan; *The First Great Patron of Science in America*, by H. S. van Klooster; and

The Loyalist Problem in New York After the Revolution, by Oscar Zeichner, are three articles in *New York History* for July, 1940.

The September, 1940, number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* contains *Beef Cattle Industry in Oregon, 1890-1938*, by Dexter K. Strong; *Diary of Reverend G. H. Atkinson, 1847-1858*, by E. Ruth Rockwood; and *Camp Sites of Jedediah Smith on the Oregon Coast*, by Alice B. Maloney.

The issue of *Mid-America* for October, 1940, contains three articles — *Propaganda in the American Revolution*, by Charles H. Metzger; *New Light on the History of the Reconquest of New Mexico*, by J. Manuel Espinosa; and *A Calendar of La Salle's Travels, 1643-1683*, by Jean Delanglez.

The Autumn, 1940, number of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains the following three articles: *History of Dairying in Michigan*, by Leland W. Lamb; *Pioneer Scandinavian Settlement in Michigan*, by Carlton C. Qualey; and *Early Denominational Academies and Colleges in Michigan*, by Willis F. Dunbar.

Frankfort, Capital of Kentucky, About 1860, by Willard Rouse Jillson; *The Blair Family in the Civil War*, by Grace N. Taylor; and a continuation of *The Letters of Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky*, are among the contributions in the October, 1940, number of *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*.

Thaddeus Hyatt in Washington Jail, by Edgar Langsdorf; *Abilene, First of the Kansas Cow Towns*, by George L. Cushman; *J. A. Walker's Early History of Edward County*, edited by James C. Malin; and *College Football in Kansas*, by Harold C. Evans, are articles in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for August, 1940.

A Century of Life in Ohio Through a Country Minister's Window, by Willis A. Chamberlin, is one of the short articles in *Museum Echoes* for October, 1940. The November number contains *The Way the Name "Old Glory" was Given to the Flag*, by W. L. Curry, and *Recollections of Col. John Singleton Mosby*, by Curt B. Muller.

The Frontier and Frontiersmen of Turner's Essays, by George

Wilson Pierson; *Early Philadelphia Magazines for Ladies*, by Bertha Monica Stearns; and *Joseph Galloway's Plans of Union for the British Empire, 1774-1788*, by Julian P. Boyd, are the three articles in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October, 1940.

The Navy and the Booth Conspirators, by Charles O. Paullin; *Domestic Arts and Crafts in Illinois (1800-1860)*, by Marjorie Caroline Taylor; *Rock Island and the Rock Island Arsenal*, by Ira Oliver Nothstein, and *Notes on Rock River Navigation*, by Gustav E. Larson, are articles in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for September, 1940.

Nebraska History for October-December, 1939, includes *Early Trails as a National Heritage*, by Dr. Howard R. Driggs, and *Pump Irrigation in Nebraska*, by Senator Harry E. Gantz. There is also the report of the Superintendent, Addison E. Sheldon. Shorter articles include *The Book of Box Butte County*, by Mrs. Anna M. Phillips, and *The 355th (Nebraska) Regiment in the World War*, by Homer L. Kyle.

Manners and Humors of the American Frontier, by Thomas D. Clark, and *Hamilton R. Gamble, Missouri's War Governor*, by Marguerite Potter, are the two articles in *The Missouri Historical Review* for October, 1940. Under *Missouriana* is *Rural Free Delivery Service in Missouri*, by Phil M. Donnelly, a biographical sketch of Henry Shaw (for whom Shaw's Garden in St. Louis is named), an account of Fort Carondelet, and a bibliography of the Missouri River.

The American Historical Review for October, 1940, contains the following three articles: *Maryland before the Revolution*, by Charles A. Barker; *The State of Nature and the Decline of Lockian Political Theory in England*, by H. V. S. Ogden; and *The Court, the Corporation, and Conkling*, by A. C. McLaughlin. There is also a short paper, *President Jefferson and his Successor*, by Roy J. Honeywell, and a document, *A Peace Mission of 1863*, edited by Fred Harvey Harrington.

The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine for September,

1940, contains the following articles: *John Taylor, Pittsburgh's Early Astronomer*, by Mrs. Marcellin C. Adams; *The Place of Methodism in the Religious Life of the Pittsburgh Region*, by Wallace Guy Smeltzer; *Methodism's Struggle for a Permanent Foot-hold in Pittsburgh*, by Kenneth Dann Magruder; and *Hungarian Activities in Western Pennsylvania*, by Andrew A. Marchbin. There is also a diary, *A Trip from Pittsburgh to St. Louis and Return in 1850*, kept by James W. Hailman.

Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota, by Arthur J. Larsen; *Steamboat Transportation on the Red River*, by Marion H. Herriot; *The State Historical Convention of 1940*, by Bertha L. Heilbron; and the third installment of *Two Missionaries in the Sioux Country — The Narrative of Samuel W. Pond*, edited by Theodore C. Blegen, are the four articles in *Minnesota History* for September, 1940. A brief article by Dr. M. M. Quaife on the Paul Bunyan legend is reprinted in this number.

The Rise and Fall of Old Superior, by Louise Phelps Kellogg; *The Pigeon Trap*, by Charles D. Stewart; *Scandinavian Moravians in Wisconsin*, by Joseph Schafer; 'Them's They': *The Story of Monches, Wisconsin*, by Rev. Lincoln F. Whelan; and *Rafting on the Mississippi*, by Captain J. M. Turner, are the five articles in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for September, 1940. Under *Documents* there is a continuation of *Letters of Charles Richard Van Hise* and the editorial comment, by Joseph Schafer, is on *Albert John Ochsner: A Wisconsin Gift to Chicago*.

The Democratic Element in the New Republican Party in Indiana, by Mildred C. Stoler; "Chic" Jackson's *Bean Family*, by J. Harley Nichols; *A Student from a Pioneer Family at Purdue*, by Harry O. Garman; *The First Families of White Oak Springs, 1810-1817*, by Margaret Story Jean and Aline Jean Treanor; *Indiana Historical Society*, by Christopher B. Coleman; and *Indiana Fifty Years Ago*, by William O. Lynch, are articles in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for September, 1940. Under *Documents* there is *Hollis Correspondence*, Civil War letters of the Hollis family.

The Virginia Board of Agriculture, 1841-1843, by Rodney H. True; *American Husbandry; A Commentary Apropos of the Carman Edition*, by Rodney C. Loehr; *Hops in Early California Agriculture*, by James J. Parsons; and *The History of American Agriculture as a Field of Research*, by Louis Bernard Schmidt, are articles in *Agricultural History* for July, 1940. Woodrow Wilson's *Agricultural Philosophy*, by Carl R. Woodward; *Hsü Kuang-Ch'i, a Chinese Authority on Agriculture*, by Lewis A. Maverick; *Western Foodstuffs in the Army Provisions Trade*, by Lewis E. Ather-ton; *The McNary-Haugen Bills, 1924-1928*, by Darwin N. Kelley; and *The Development of Agricultural Villages in Southern Utah*, by Joseph Earle Spencer, make up the October, 1940, number.

Rocky Mountain Politics, edited by Thomas C. Donnelly, with a foreword by Arthur N. Holcombe, has recently been published by the University of New Mexico Press. Each of the eight States included is discussed by a different author—Utah: Sagebrush Democracy, by Frank Herman Jonas; Colorful Colorado: State of Varied Industries, by Roy E. Brown; The Mystery of Nevada, by Jeanne Elizabeth Wier; Wyoming: A Cattle Kingdom, by Henry J. Peterson; Idaho: State of Sectional Schisms, by Lawrence Henry Chamberlain; Montana: Political Enigma of the Northern Rockies, by Newton Carl Abbott; New Mexico: An Area of Conflicting Cultures, by Thomas C. Donnelly; and Arizona: A State of New-Old Frontiers, by Waldo E. Waltz.

The October-December, 1940, issue of *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is devoted to articles on medicine in the State under the heading, *Ohio Medical History of the Period, 1835-1858*, by the Committee on Archives and Medical History of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The series includes the following: *Contributions of Ohio Physicians to the Inventions of the Period, 1835-1858*, by Donald D. Shira; *Thomsonianism in Ohio*, by Frederick C. Waite; *The Rise of Homeopathy*, by Lucy Stone Hertzog; *Urinalysis, Instruments of Precision, the Stethoscope, et cetera, of the Period, 1835-1858*, by Howard Dittrick; *The Medical Journals of the Period, 1835-1858*, by Jonathan Forman; *The Role of the "District" as a Unit in Organ-*

ized Medicine in Ohio, by Robert G. Paterson; *Notes on Cholera in Southwestern Ohio*, by David A. Tucker, Jr.; and *Dentistry and Dental Education*, by Edward C. Mills.

The September, 1940, number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the following papers and articles: *The Albany Congress and the Creation of the Indian Superintendencies*, by John R. Alden; *The Opposition of Planters to the Employment of Slaves as Laborers by the Confederacy*, by Harrison A. Trexler; *Public Opinion and the Income Tax, 1860-1900*, by Elmer Ellis; *Thirty-third Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, by William B. Hesseltine; *Robert J. Walker on Acquiring Greenland and Iceland*, by Brainerd Dyer; and *Importing a Historian: Von Holst and American Universities*, edited by Eric F. Goldman. *Railroads in National Defense, 1829-1848*, by E. G. Campbell; *Some Considerations on the Frontier Concept of Frederick Jackson Turner*, by Murray Kane; *Western Republicans and the Tariff in 1860*, by Thomas M. Pitkin; *The Powell Irrigation Survey, 1883-1893*, by Everett W. Sterling; and *A Travelogue of 1849*, a document edited by Earle D. Ross, are articles and papers in the December issue. There is also *A Criticism of the Critique* [by Fred A. Shannon] of Webb's *The Great Plains*, by John W. Caughey. The Teacher's Section is edited by Burr W. Phillips.

IOWANA

A Brief History of the Thomason Family, by Robert Stewart Thomason, includes data on a number of Iowa families.

From Many Lands, by Louis Adamic, has one chapter describing life in the Dutch settlement at Pella, Iowa.

The Luers Family in America Early History and Genealogy, compiled by W. H. Meyer, contains some genealogical data on Iowa.

The *Historical Records Survey* has recently published another volume in the *Inventory of the County Archives of Iowa*, No. 97, for Woodbury County.

The November, 1940, issue of *The Journal of the Iowa State*

Medical Society contains a biographical sketch of Dr. Alexander S. Bigg, by Dr. Walter L. Bierring.

WPA Libraries in Iowa, by Jeanne C. Lewis, Statewide Supervisor of WPA Libraries, is a short article in the *Iowa Library Quarterly* for July-August-September, 1940.

Yesterday and Tomorrow, by J. W. Arbuckle, of Waterloo, Iowa, dictated to his secretary, Frances M. Watters, is a biographical and philosophical volume dedicated to the author's grandsons.

The Centennial Celebration, a booklet issued by the First Presbyterian Church of Iowa City, contains, in addition to the program, sketches on *The Founding of the Church* and *Church Organizations*.

A Brief History of Greene County has recently been issued, written by R. A. Morris. Material for the booklet, composed of forty-four pages, was found in various county files and from personal interviews.

A Guide to Manuscript Collections in Iowa, Volume I, has recently been issued by the Iowa Historical Records Survey. The project supervisor for Iowa is O. Clyde Sutherland and the sponsor of this publication was the Iowa State Department of History and Archives.

The *Annals of Iowa* for October, 1940, contains three articles — *The Iowa Germans in the Election of 1860*, by Charles W. Emery; *Early Horseless Carriage Days in Iowa*, by John A. Thompson; and *Iowa's First Steam Tractor*, by F. Hal Higgins. There is also a collection of *Letters of James W. Grimes*.

The Story City Herald issued an anniversary number on October 24, 1940. A supplement in pamphlet form contains a large number of historical sketches concerning activities in the community. There is also a year by year account of happenings taken from the files of the *Herald* beginning in 1893.

Westward to Iowa, by Arthur Pickford, is a collection of reminiscences of life in northern Iowa. The foreword is by W. Earl

Hall. The volume is attractive and the intimate and first-hand pictures of life in Iowa fifty years ago make it a valuable addition to Iowa history.

The Iowa Sportsman, a monthly magazine devoted to sports and recreation, made its debut in November, 1940. Olave Smedal is editor and publisher and the place of publication is Marshalltown, Iowa. *Beaver in Iowa*, by F. T. Schwob, and *American Indian — First Conservationist*, by Loren Hintz, are articles in the December, 1940, issue.

The Agricultural Marketing Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, cooperating with the Iowa Department of Agriculture, has begun the publication of a series of bulletins on *Iowa Agricultural Statistics*, issued under the direction of Leslie M. Carl, Director of the Division of Agricultural Statistics for Iowa. They are issued by counties. The years covered are 1929–1938 inclusive.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

Death of Nathan Rainsbarger recalls some early history of Hardin County, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, July 18, the *Ackley World-Journal*, the *Anamosa Eureka*, and the *Grundy Center Register*, July 25, 1940.

Script of historical pageant, “Cavalcade of Fayette County”, by Winifred A. Young, in the *Fayette County Leader*, July 18, 1940.

Death of E. H. Maytag, in the *Newton News*, July 22, 1940.

Covered bridge near Hanley is seventy years old, in the *Winterset News*, July 25, 1940.

The cowboy hoax in Dickinson County, by William Hayward, in the *Milford Mail*, July 25, 1940.

First courthouse at Oskaloosa, in the *Oskaloosa Times*, July 25, 1940.

Some history of the *Oskaloosa Tribune*, in the *Oskaloosa Tribune*, July 25, 1940.

Episcopal Seminary for Women, Dubuque's first "institution of higher learning", in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, July 28, 1940.

Homer Pitcher owns United States flag with thirty-eight stars, in the *Sioux City Journal*, July 28, 1940.

Dispute over Marquette's grave still survives, in the *Des Moines Register*, July 28, 1940.

Evergreen Farm in Louisa County celebrates centennial, in the *Muscatine Journal*, July 29, 1940.

Immaculate Conception Church at Wexford celebrates Diamond Jubilee, in the *Lansing Journal*, July 31, 1940.

Long list of abandoned Iowa towns, in the *Waverly Journal*, August 1, 1940.

Sketch of the life of Perry C. Holdoegel, in the *Rockwell City Advocate*, the *Des Moines Register*, and the *Lohrville Enterprise*, August 1, 1940.

Tombstone in Guttenberg cemetery has date of 1769, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, August 4, 1940.

Log Cabin Museum near Missouri Valley, in the *Missouri Valley Times-News*, August 5, 1940.

The Dillman Cemetery, by H. A. Mueller, in the *Indianola Tribune*, August 7, 1940.

Log cabin near Denver built about 1865, in the *Waverly Independent*, August 7, 1940.

Term "Hawkeye" first recorded in *Cincinnati Miscellany* in 1845, in the *Keokuk Gate City* and the *Fairfield Ledger*, August 10, 1940.

Ole Johnson is 105 years old, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 12, 1940.

W. G. Wilson has Indian and pioneer collection, in the *Creston News Advertiser*, August 14, 1940.

Corydon has old settlers' celebration, in the *Corydon Times-Republican*, August 15, 1940.

Some data on the Wallace family, in the *Greenfield Free Press*, August 15, 1940.

Moody & Davy advertised low-priced land in 1889, in the *Pomeroy Herald*, August 15, 1940.

Mrs. R. M. LaDue has great-grandfather's letter from Lincoln, by J. Hyatt Downing, in the *Sioux City Journal*, August 18, 1940.

"Art Hall" of State Fair in 1869 still stands at Keokuk, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 18, 1940.

Old settlers who attended Indian Day at Titonka, in the *Titonka Topic*, August 22, 1940.

History of Van Buren County, compiled by Isaac McCracken, in the *Farmington News-Republican*, August 22, 1940.

Discovery of document showing boundary of precincts in Appanoose County in 1847, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, August 23, 1940.

Some paintings of Russell Cowles, Iowa artist, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, August 24, 1940.

"Mill Creek culture" found near Cherokee, in the *Cherokee Chief*, August 30, 1940.

First street fair staged in Keokuk in 1898, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, August 30, 1940.

History of the Iowa Divide near Carroll and establishment of "Grand Divide Park", in the *Carroll Herald*, August 30, 1940.

Mason City's first white child tells story of life and of city, by Mrs. C. P. Shipley, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, September 2, 1940.

How Polk City missed being a State capital, by Bob Hillard, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, September 2, 1940.

O. L. Butts of Ottumwa has Indian relic and rare fossil collection, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, September 2, 1940.

Washington Reformed Church observes sixtieth anniversary, in the *Allison Tribune*, September 4, 1940.

Audubon County's history is presented in historical pageant, in the *Exira Journal*, September 5, 1940.

Mrs. J. Q. Lewis recalls early days in Sigourney, in the *Sigourney News*, September 5, 1940.

When Governor Lucas visited Hard Fish's village a century ago, in the *Eddyville Tribune*, September 5, 1940.

Counterfeiting gang had hide-out in Eddyville, in the *Eddyville Tribune*, September 5, 1940.

Early events in Eddyville, in the *Eddyville Tribune*, September 5, 1940.

Toledo Methodist circuit churches celebrate seventy-five years of religious activity, in the *Traer Star-Clipper*, September 6, 1940.

Some early school history of Butler County, in the *Greene Recorder*, September 11, 1940.

George Brown of Oskaloosa once played in major league baseball, in the *Oskaloosa Tribune*, September 12, 1940.

Prehistoric home uncovered near State school, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune*, September 12, 1940.

Wilson family came to Iowa one hundred years ago, in the *Morning Sun News-Herald*, September 12, 1940.

Mrs. Rufus J. Burglehaus is oldest woman graduate of Iowa Wesleyan, and said to be oldest woman graduate of any college in the United States, in the *Mt. Pleasant News*, September 14, 1940.

Grenville M. Dodge and the city of Council Bluffs, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, September 15, 1940.

Some Iowa land and agricultural prices in 1868, in the *Grinnell Herald-Register*, September 16, 1940.

Professor S. S. Reque of Luther College finds century-old records relating to Winneshiek County, in the *Decorah Journal*, September 17, 1940.

H. M. Shively is first native born Perry resident, in the *Perry Chief*, September 18, 1940.

The Old Stone Church at Rock Falls, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, September 18, 1940.

Mrs. M. E. Orr, 88, was first white girl born in Fremont County, in the *Sidney Argus-Herald*, September 19, 1940.

Sketch of the life of Fred Phippin, pioneer of Dickinson County, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, September 20, 1940.

The old fire bell of Marshalltown, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, September 23, 1940.

History of the ghost town of Maple Landing, in the *Sloan Star*, September 26, 1940.

Some history of Pacific City, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune*, September 26, 1940.

Description of the old stagecoach and travel in Washington County, in the *Washington Journal*, September 28, 1940.

Some early pioneer farmers in Washington County, in the *Washington Journal*, September 28, 1940.

Marker for Beeson Barker, pioneer minister of Creston, in the *Creston News Advertiser*, September 30, 1940.

Sigourney library receives "The Utterback Family 1620-1938", in the *Sigourney Review*, October 2, 1940.

Death of William H. Crozier, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, October 2, 1940.

Death of Mrs. Harriet Favre, 96, native of Linn County, in the *Boone News-Republican*, October 2, 1940.

History of first Iowa school at Galland, by Mr. and Mrs. Leonard G. Haase, in the *Fort Madison Democrat*, October 4, 1940.

Story of Berryman Jennings, Iowa's first school teacher, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, October 4, 1940.

Marker for the grave of the last Indian Chief in Iowa, Chief Push-e-to-ne-quah, in the *Tama Northern* (Gladbrook), October 4, 1940.

Death of James B. Green, prominent Des Moines manufacturer and civic leader, in the *Des Moines Register*, October 11, 1940.

Fiftieth anniversary of the Coe College *Cosmos* is celebrated, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, October 13, 1940.

Pioneer Rock Church near Guttenberg is preserved as memorial, in the *Des Moines Register*, October 13, 1940.

Historic church at Pleasant Grove is rededicated, in the *Nevada Journal*, October 15, 1940.

Haymakers Association first banquet in 1899, in the *Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette*, October 16, 1940.

Sketch of the life of Nathan G. Thorne, Civil War veteran, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, October 17, 18, 1940.

Charles W. Gaston, a "Daniel Boone" pioneer, in the *Boone News-Republican*, October 17, 1940.

Boone County has a Fifty Year Club for old settlers, in the *Boone News-Republican*, October 17, 1940.

Death of Mrs. Anna B. Jackson, wife of former Governor of Iowa, in the *Des Moines Register*, October 17, 1940.

Poster of 1892 advertises G. A. R. excursion to Washington, D. C., in the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, October 18, 1940.

Journalism dates back one hundred years at Muscatine, in the *Des Moines Register*, October 20, 1940.

Death of Peter Stillmunkes, former State Representative, in the *Des Moines Register* and the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, October 22, 1940.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Pennsylvania Historical Commission is sponsoring the restoration of the buildings at the "Old Harmony" community at Ambridge, Pennsylvania. Charles M. Stotz of Pittsburgh is the architect in charge.

The New Hampshire Historical Society has recently issued a booklet giving a brief account of the work and the collections of the Society with copies of its charter and by-laws and a list of its present officers.

Kentucky is making preparations for the celebration in 1942 of the 150th anniversary of its admission as a State. Governor Keen Johnson has appointed a Commission of nine members. Since no appropriation has been made by the legislature, the celebration must be financed, at least at first, by private donations.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its mid-year meeting at New York City on December 27-30, 1940. A dinner on December 27th, at which Carl Wittke, President of the Association, presided, featured a paper by Elmer Ellis on "Mr. Dooley: Journalism or Literature". The history session on the thirtieth discussed "To What Extent Was the West a Radical Force, 1865-1892?" Those taking part included Robert E. Riegel, Louis Pelzer, James A. Barnes, Albert K. Kohlmeier, and Chester M. A. Destler.

The United States Department of the Interior has recently issued *Historic American Buildings Survey*, compiled and edited by John P. O'Neill, associate architect of the National Park Service. It is described as a "Catalog of the Measured Drawings and Photographs of the Survey in the Library of Congress, January 1, 1938". It includes a list of buildings in twenty-five Iowa towns. Photographs of these buildings and reproductions of the measured drawings may be secured from the Chief of the Fine Arts Division, Library of Congress, for nominal charges.

The Nebraska State Historical Society held its sixty-third annual meeting at Lincoln on October 19, 1940, in conjunction with the sixteenth annual meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Nebraska. A business meeting was followed by a series of short talks. One of these was "The Rediscovery of John Brown's Underground Railroad and Cabin in Nebraska", by E. D. Bartling. The luncheon was followed by a series of five minute talks. The afternoon session was devoted to "The Great Nebraska Trails". This included "The Trail-Making Urge", the keynote address, by Fred G. Hawxby; "Famous World Trails", by Ona Wagner; "A Map Study of Nebraska Trails", by Oden Gilmore; "The Pony Express Trail: Its Dramatic Story", by Arthur J. Denney; and "The Pony Express Trail: Its Marking in Nebraska", by Dr. Herbert L. Cushing. The address at the dinner meeting was "Early Trails as a National Heritage", by Dr. Howard R. Driggs.

IOWA

Residents of Mahaska County formed a temporary historical association with a view to permanent organization. Plans are being made to establish a memorial building. John C. Bradbury is chairman of the temporary organization.

The Adair County Historical Society has township leaders to promote historical activities. Plans for a memorial to the county's pioneers and for a suitable place to house historical relics were discussed at a meeting of leaders.

The Warren County Historical Society is making a special effort to assemble old county records. A large number of school record books, some dating back to 1874, have been added to the collection. A committee of the society has taken inventory and made classification of the material now at hand.

Founders' and Builders' Day was observed at Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, on November 19, 1940. William R. Boyd of Cedar Rapids, a member of the board of trustees for sixteen years, gave the address. The affair, instituted by President John B. Magee, is expected to become an annual celebration on the third Tuesday in November.

A new park and playground in Dubuque, comprising a tract of five acres on the city's west side, will serve as a memorial to two noted Dubuquers, William B. Allison and David B. Henderson. The recent purchase of land is the culmination of an enterprise to establish a memorial begun in 1911, when some \$10,000 were raised, with contributions from Andrew Carnegie, former Dubuquers, members of Congress, and others.

Officers elected by the Polk County Historical Society for the new year were the following: Ora Williams, president; J. E. Howard, vice president; Mrs. Gladys Bradford, financial secretary; Ray Stiles, executive secretary; and H. C. Plummer, treasurer. Edgar R. Harlan was elected to the three-year term of the board of trustees. The society has begun a project to collect biographical "who's who" data about pioneer people of Polk County.

The Union County Historical Society had its annual meeting at Afton on October 6, 1940. Former Representative Lloyd Thurston was the principal speaker. Plans were discussed in the business meeting for the compilation of a new county history and it was decided to purchase new files for the preservation of the society's records to be placed in the Creston library. B. L. Tyler was re-elected president, L. C. Bowers, vice president, W. G. Wilson, custodian, and Mrs. Henry Carolus was named secretary-treasurer. Richard Brown of Creston was selected as a director to succeed the late W. J. Donlin.

The First Presbyterian Church of Iowa City celebrated its centennial anniversary on November 17-19, 1940. The program included a sermon on "The Building of the Church", by Dr. Ilion T. Jones, and one by the Reverend William L. Young, President of Park College, an address on "The God of Our Fathers", by the Reverend Archibald Cardle, of Burlington, reminiscences by Robert R. Reed, John Gray Rhind, and William P. Lemon, a talk on "The Outstanding Contributions of Presbyterianism to Iowa in the Last Century", by the Reverend W. O. Harless, a talk on "The Outstanding Contributions of the Presbytery of Iowa to Presbyterianism in the Last Century", by the Reverend John H. Gabriel,

of Davenport, and a pageant entitled "Impressions of One Hundred Years", by W. Leigh Sowers.

A replica of the first schoolhouse erected in Iowa in 1830 was dedicated on October 4, 1940. It stands beside a scenic highway three miles south of Montrose. The program included responses by Mrs. Fannie Capelle, granddaughter of Dr. Isaac Galland, the sponsor of the school, F. A. Welch, representing the National Youth Administration, which built the replica, Dr. J. A. Swisher, for the State Historical Society of Iowa, R. E. Stewart, representing the State Conservation Commission, and Jessie M. Parker, Superintendent of Public Instruction. The address of dedication was given by George A. Wilson, Governor of the State of Iowa. Music by massed bands was directed by Carl Nelson.

Old Fort Atkinson's centennial was celebrated near Decorah on Sunday, October 6, 1940. Principal speaker at the ceremonies was Governor George A. Wilson, whose address dealt chiefly with conservation. Other speakers included Congressman Henry O. Talle of Decorah, and Professor S. S. Reque of Luther College, president of the Greater Winneshiek League, who has done research on the project. The old fort was established in 1840 and was an important point of defense on the frontier. Built to protect the Winnebago Indians against the Sac and Fox, the fort on this occasion received representatives of the Sac and Fox tribes as participants in the celebration. Governor Wilson was inducted into the tribe. Some 5000 persons attended the centennial ceremonies at the fort, which is to be restored to conform to its old lines.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Dr. Ruth A. Gallaher, Associate Editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave a talk on "Homes of Early Iowa" before the Cedar Rapids Woman's Club on November 25, 1940.

Dr. William J. Petersen spoke before the faculty and students at Iowa State College on October 3, 1940, on the subject "The Use of Local History as a Tool for Studying National History". On October 7th he spoke to the Davenport Rotary Club on "Tall Tales of

the Mississippi River''. He returned to Davenport on October 10th to present the same talk to the Kiwanis Club. On October 22nd he spoke to the Iowa City Kiwanis Club on "Robert Lucas and the Iowa City Scene''. He gave a similar talk to the Iowa City Lions Club on November 6th. At the fifty-fifth annual meeting of the American Historical Association in New York City Dr. Petersen presented a paper on "Diseases and Doctors in Pioneer Iowa'' before the History of Science Section on December 30, 1940.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mrs. O. H. Henningsen, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. William A. Hickey, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. David L. Redfield, San Francisco, California; Col. William Catron Rigby, Washington, D. C.; Mr. George Rosenberger, Tabor, Iowa; Mr. Charles L. Baker, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Karl H. Boegel, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. A. H. Ellis, Vinton, Iowa; Mrs. Emil Hesselschwerdt, Kalona, Iowa; Mr. J. Leo Hoak, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Melvin P. McGovern, Dubuque, Iowa; Dr. Enos D. Miller, Wellman, Iowa; Mr. Glen L. Murdock, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Gail M. Redfield, W. Lafayette, Indiana; Dr. William Richard Arthur, Hampton, Iowa; Mrs. O. K. Dick, Iowa Falls, Iowa; Miss Ida M. Evans, Marshalltown, Iowa; Miss Margaret Loury, Jesup, Iowa; Miss Margaret A. Mueller, Iowa City, Iowa; Mrs. E. R. O'Neill, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. A. H. Pickford, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Ada Rippe Carley, Baltimore, Maryland; Mr. M. F. Donegan, Davenport, Iowa; Miss Myrtle June Gabrielson, Norris, Tennessee; Mr. Knut P. Gohlmann, Clinton, Iowa; Mrs. Zoe S. Heinze, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. C. L. Kimball, Newton, Iowa; Mr. W. J. McConnell, Mediapolis, Iowa; and Mrs. Glenn Speight, West Branch, Iowa.

The following have been enrolled as life members of the Society: Mr. E. L. Kirkpatrick, Washington, D. C.; Mr. M. H. Driftmier, Shenandoah, Iowa; and Miss Lucille A. Peterson, Council Bluffs, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Officers of the Herbert Hoover Birthplace Society re-elected on September 21, 1940, were: president, Fred Albin; vice president, W. B. Anderson; secretary-treasurer, F. L. Pearson. Miss Ethyl E. Martin, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, was named a member of the board of trustees.

Early days in Mahaska County were recalled by Rev. C. D. Mattix at the annual Mahaska County Old Settlers' Association reunion at Oskaloosa on October 13, 1940. C. A. Briney was re-elected president, Mrs. M. S. Downey, vice president, and Mrs. W. A. Hoyt, secretary-treasurer of the association. Steps were taken toward the organization of a Mahaska County historical association to take charge of historical records and relics.

Mrs. Virginia Knight Logan, former opera singer and composer of song lyrics, mother of the late Frederick Knight Logan, died at her home in Oskaloosa on November 27, 1940, at the age of 91. After a career as prima donna of the American Opera Company and as teacher of music in her own studio in New York, Mrs. Logan took up her home in Oskaloosa with her son with whom she collaborated in composition. Their compositions became widely known and were a distinct contribution to American music. Mrs. Logan was also actively engaged in civic and social service work in her identification with the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs.

Ransom J. Bixby, legislator and civic pioneer, died at his home in Edgewood, November 18, 1940. Mr. Bixby served as Republican Representative from Delaware County in the Thirtieth, Thirty-first, and Thirty-second General Assemblies. He introduced the Bixby bill on the preservation of forests and bills for the advancement of agricultural interests, and promoted the movement for the establishment of the Women's Reformatory and many pure food bills and temperance measures. Mr. Bixby was engaged in insurance and real estate business since 1909. Bixby State Park, named

in his honor, was developed originally by Mr. Bixby as a public park from his private land.

The Iowa Authors' Club held its annual dinner on September 28, 1940, at Des Moines. The following new officers were presented by the Club's retiring president, Dr. Frank Luther Mott of the State University: Bess Streeter Aldrich of Elmwood, Nebraska, honorary president; J. Hyatt Downing, honorary vice president; Dr. William J. Petersen, president; Harvey Ingham, vice president; Marguerite Gode, second vice president; Mrs. Maude Hicks Hickman, secretary; and Gernie Hunter, treasurer. Eight Iowa authors have won Pulitzer prizes, six former members have served the United States abroad, five have been chosen poet laureates by Governors of other States, and over one hundred Iowa authors have been recorded in "Who's Who in America".

Judge John Hancock Henderson, pioneer Iowa lawyer of Indianola, died at the age of ninety-two, in Orange, California. Judge Henderson served sixteen years as a district court judge, and served a year as circuit judge to fill a vacancy. He was named president of the Iowa State Bar Association in 1897, and was a member of the State Board of Law Examiners from 1902 to 1906. Judge Henderson was first appointed commerce counsel of the Iowa railroad commission in 1911, and served in that office for twenty-four years. Mr. Henderson was active in a number of Indianola organizations. He served as a member of the board of trustees of Simpson College for some fifty years. Judge Henderson's father was Col. P. P. Henderson, who came to Warren County from Indiana in 1847 and was the first judge and first sheriff in the county.

The Iowa State Teachers Association held its annual convention at Des Moines on November 7-9, 1940. "Our Association and Its Future" was the title of the address by A. E. Harrison of Storm Lake, retiring president. Among the speakers were Dr. William G. Carr, Secretary of the Educational Policies Commission, Washington, D. C., Dr. Edwin A. Lee, Professor of Vocational Education, Teachers College, New York City, Dr. A. L. Sachar, National Di-

rector, Hillel Foundations, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill., W. W. Waymack, Editor of *The Des Moines Register*, Des Moines, Dr. J. B. Edmondson, Dean of the School of Education, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Jessie M. Parker, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Des Moines, Mr. and Mrs. Gregor Ziemer, Americans recently returned from Germany, and Edgar Ansel Mowrer, famous news correspondent of the Chicago *Daily News*. G. W. Kirn of Council Bluffs was chosen president of the Association for 1941.

CONTRIBUTORS

RUTH AUGUSTA GALLAHER, Associate Editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, October, 1939, p. 440, July, 1940, p. 335.

JACOB ARMSTRONG SWISHER, Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, October, 1939, p. 440, January, 1940, p. 112.

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THROUGH IOWA ON CHAUTAUQUA

At the Commercial Hotel in Winfield, Iowa, I met members of John C. Weber's band, my traveling companions for the Chautauqua summer. It was the seventh of June, 1920. The war was over, the land boom was on, and popularity of the Chautauqua was at its peak. I felt at home, geographically, if not at ease regarding my oratorical ability, while Mr. Weber and his Cincinnati-bred musicians, although confident of their artistry, found difficulty in making adjustment to the prairie setting.

I remembered having attended Chautauqua programs years before when I was a reporter for a brief spell on the *Iowa City Republican*. The program under the brown tent, pitched in a newly cut oat field at the edge of the university town, had brought a group of Jubilee singers and J. Adam Bede, Minnesota Congressman, as the speaker. The summer evening, the fresh fields, the negro spirituals, and the humor of Mr. Bede combined to leave a pleasurable impression. The essence of that experience I accepted as the Chautauqua spirit. Now, after a lapse of years, it was my turn to stand on the platform rather than sit in the audience beneath one of the brown tents.

My presence on the Chautauqua platform resulted from feature stories I had written for the *Chicago Sunday Tribune*. In gathering material I had tried out a different trade or calling each week for some two years and told about it from the viewpoint of a novice. In all I had tried more than one hundred jobs. The title of my lecture was "In Other Men's Shoes".

Fortunately "Teddy" Graham was the Chautauqua superintendent at Winfield. He had the faculty for putting

over a program by so emphasizing its merits that its flaws were overlooked. His introduction of me that afternoon helped to overcome my timidity. Later in the day, however, my ego returned to normalcy when he handed me an itinerary revealing that on the eighth day out we were scheduled to appear in Hampton. Hampton was my own home town.

Winfield and its environs offered reminders of Hampton but the audience there was not made up of persons whom I had known all my life. I did the best I could in Keota, West Liberty, and Marion. They provided rehearsal points for what, to me, now loomed as the main performance. When I discovered that Marion was but six miles from Cedar Rapids, I decided that between "jumps" I would visit Keith Vawter at his headquarters. Mr. Vawter had signed me up for his circuit but I had never met him personally.

The earlier Chautauqua programs in Iowa towns had been selected by committees and each community booked its own talent. In 1904 Mr. Vawter conceived the idea of Chautauqua circuits. Under the Vawter system, local committees left it to Mr. Vawter to select the talent. Throughout the summer, each town on a circuit was given a week's program. All the towns on a circuit received the same groups of talent and the performers were, in turn, assured a solid summer's engagement. The management paid railroad fare and in some cases the local bus fare, but each performer was responsible for his other expenses.

At the time I was on the program, Mr. Vawter had three circuits — the largest was the seven-day and visited the larger towns, the five-day went to smaller towns, and the third to even smaller communities. All covered much the same territory. The talent moved each day providing each community a daily change of program. The tent remained

in a town throughout the duration of the program series, under the direction of a superintendent who had charge of all the programs in that place. With the circuit progressing to fill dates scheduled well ahead, this meant that each day a tent was being placed in a town ahead and a tent being torn up behind. Work about the tents was done by "crew-boys", usually college boys earning money for another year at school.

During our brief interview Mr. Vawter failed to enthuse over my assurance that he had acted wisely in placing me on his program. It was not until the Chautauqua was a vanished institution, due to the advent of the automobile and the radio, that Mr. Vawter lifted his defenses. Seven years later I was his dinner guest at the Union League Club in Chicago. There he presented me with a book, *Fifty Years of Chautauqua*, by Hugh A. Orchard, and inscribed on the flyleaf: "To a real chautauqua fan from a 'has been' — K. V."

Mr. Vawter played an active rôle during the rise of Chautauqua and his influence was felt in the movement that spread to every State in the union. He met and overcame many problems. In later years, when he was in the mood, he wrote me about certain phases of his Chautauqua activities that had intrigued me.

"I think one of the best friends I ever made", he wrote, "was a lecturer who took about three years to sell to my associates, and yet he proved one of the greatest scientific lecturers the lyceum and chautauqua has ever known. One of my bitterest experiences had to do with one of the best lecturers, in my judgment, that I ever offered. He was a 'flop' all season, yet I am fool enough to think he could have been a great success if I could have been with him the first two or three days and helped him organize his wealth of material."

These were aftermath musings of a modest man, who during Chautauqua's heyday, acted as general for an army of gypsying crewboys, advance men, platform managers, and talent. "Talent" was the term used to set apart those who appeared on the platform.

The passing of twenty years has taken the freshness from the pamphlets circulated to exploit the Chautauqua attractions that summer of 1920. Resurrecting one of them, I find that the pages as well as the descriptive phrases are frayed. The "talent" listed on this program included the following attractions: *first day*—music afternoon and evening by the Columbia Players, and a play in the evening, "Turn To The Right", read by Edwin M. Whitney, later in radio; *second day*—music afternoon and evening by the Dorothy Cole Concert Company, a lecture in the afternoon on "A Square Deal for Jack", by W. E. Wenner, and another in the evening on "Russia, Or America; Which?", by Ralph B. Dennis; *third day*—a lecture in the afternoon by Dr. Robert Johnston on "A Modern Jonah" and music afternoon and evening by the Criterion Quartette; *fourth day*—lecture in the afternoon by Oney Fred Sweet entitled "In Other Men's Shoes" and music afternoon and evening by the John C. Weber Band, with Miss Katherine Hoch, dramatic soprano, as soloist; *fifth day*—a lecture in the morning by Cotton Noe (a poet) on "The Great American Home", another lecture in the afternoon, the speaker not listed on the program, and in the evening a comedy, "Nothing But The Truth", presented by Wm. J. Keighley (now one of the leading directors in Hollywood), Jean Brae, and "Broadway players"; *sixth day*—an afternoon lecture by Philip Pitt Campbell on "What Of The Republic" and music afternoon and evening by the Premier Artists; *seventh day*—a lecture on "America's Tomorrow", by John Marvin Dean, music afternoon and

evening by the Stone-Platt-Bragers Trio, and a lecture in the evening by an Englishwoman, Ada Ward, on "You Americans".

Except for the occasional opportunity to "jump ahead", it was impossible for any of the talent to hear their companions on the platform aside from those belonging to the same "day". As the Criterions appeared on the "third day", and I on the "fourth day", I frequently moved on to the next town following my afternoon lecture and was thus privileged to hear their evening program. Looking over an old program provided for Winfield I find that much is made in the billing about their engagements with Nordica, Melba, Schuman-Heink, Bispham, and others. Later I met members of the Criterion Quartette on Broadway in New York City where they were singing in a motion picture house.

At this late date, I hope I am not giving away any trade secrets, but while I recognize John Young, George Reardon, and Donald Chalmers in the group picture on the folder, the fourth member appears strange even allowing for a lapse of time. Horatio Rensch, tenor, whose "singing was one of the leading features of the opera" (quoting from the *Brooklyn Eagle*) did not come on from the East when the season opened, but no doubt he had an equally capable substitute. A fancy price had been paid for this Quartette.

Often when I arrived in a town I would hear comment on the previous night's performance. I recall a man in West Liberty who regretted the Criterions had not sung more of the popular numbers. Indeed, when I first heard the organization I confess that, along with those who had driven a long distance to attend the Chautauqua, I was somewhat disappointed. Boasting that the attraction was "fresh from Broadway" had little effect on the folks in West Liberty and Grundy Center. Nor was it enough that

the Quartette had turned out phonograph records. Were their songs familiar and could they be given a close harmony effect?

I knew the gentlemen would not often be asked to change their program, and if asked, they would refuse. It was the duty of the superintendent to "put them over". Mr. Graham explained to the audience that there was such a thing as having a taste for prunes and thinking them a wonderful dish, but once one had sampled strawberries the flavor of prunes would suffer in comparison. He likened the *Criteria*s to strawberries. So the *Criteria*s stuck to their program, thus, according to the theory, creating a standard for better music.

The John C. Weber Band, which gave the prelude to my lecture and a complete concert in the evening, had a score or more members. It was with reluctance that Mr. Weber played selections requested by his listeners. In complying with the demand for — well, that summer it was "A Long, Long Trail" — the leader realized it was the tune and not his technique that was paid homage.

Considering the necessity for booking talent months ahead and the requirement of printing publicity weeks in advance, it is amazing that so few substitutions took place. This probably was due to the binding contracts made with talent by Mr. Vawter and the adage among the entertainers that "the show must go on."

The matter of substitutions for announced programs was a thorn in the side of the management and a basis for grumbling on the part of the townspeople. This was true even though the management was well aware that what was being substituted surpassed the scheduled performance. Replacement of a member of a musical organization might pass unnoticed, but to shift lecturers at the last moment was disastrous. The absent speaker immediately was

credited with qualities beyond anything he possessed, and the pinch hitter, no matter how powerful in his own right, struggled against great odds.

In deciding what programs Iowa should hear that summer Mr. Vawter as usual not only sensed the pulse of the times but kept ahead of the trends. The war had finished satisfactorily and its echoes were reminiscent of victory. Prosperity was upon the land. The only bogey was Bolshevism. Ralph B. Dennis was answering such questions as "What truth is there in the stories about 'nationalization of women,' 'breaking up of the marriage relation,' 'anti-church attitude,' 'anti-Christ attitude'?" and "What is the Allied program now?"

The Reverend John Marvin Dean told of his experiences during the Spanish-American war, and of his evangelical work in a Chicago settlement. Congressman Henry A. Barnhart, of Indiana, gave descriptions of "Congress in Action". Rights of the child in the home, church, school, and neighborhood were discussed by W. E. Wenner, member of the Ohio legislature. In his lecture, "A Modern Jonah", the Reverend Robert Johnston, pastor from Montreal, Canada, discussed with eloquence the subject of profiting from experiences of the World War.

Ada Ward, who had been an English entertainer in the war zone, gave what was perhaps the most popular lecture of the week. I met her, briefly, in the railroad station at Burlington when we were both on our way for the opening date at Winfield. Reports of her success on the platform filtered through to me as I traveled along, although I never heard her nor any of the other lecturers speak. I find her described in the circulars as "the little woman with the mother face, the home heart, and the big message". According to the advance notices, her story had most to do with the World War and America.

In conning the old program, I find myself getting acquainted with the talent as if for the first time. Those whom I met I knew merely as travelers whose pathways I occasionally crossed. Their backgrounds and accomplishments, that I now see set forth in the circular, had a lesser part in our conversation than an exchange of data concerning eating places and train connections. Wearing apparel of the musical artists evokes a smile for, at the time, the dress suits of the men and the evening gowns of the ladies were worn with an assurance that this last word in fashion could not possibly become outmoded.

The publicity concerning my own contribution recalls the difficulties I had in collecting the materials for my speech. "He was", read one quotation from a newspaper, "a beggar on the streets, a steeple jack, a Pullman porter, a fireman on the railroad, a trapeze performer with the circus, a gypsy, a marriage license clerk, a detective, a dog catcher, a night watchman in a cemetery, a cowboy, a lumberjack, a jockey, a farm hand, a movie actor, and a host of other professions." I had earned the right to talk.

The price of season tickets was, for some reason, omitted from the advertising folders, but single admissions were usually fifty cents, plus ten per cent war tax. A "jitney" (5 cents) was then the modern slang word used by the publicity man in connection with the extra charge (plus a one cent war tax) for reserved seats.

Hint of the popularity of the Chautauqua during the period is given in the following excerpts from rules and suggestions to the populace:

"Season reserve seats, holding the same seat for the whole week, will be put on sale at some advertised place at nine o'clock the opening day. If the opening day is Sunday, the sale will open Saturday morning. The advance sale will be limited to ten to any one buyer. . . .

“Season tickets are non-transferable except within the family of the owner. Season tickets will not be honored at the gate until they are signed in ink by some member of the family. . . . Signed tickets are nearly always recovered when lost, unsigned ones seldom are. . . . The gate keeper cannot admit you unless you have a ticket, so don’t blame him. . . .

“The first two rows of seats are reserved, without cost, for the old folks and for those whose hearing may be impaired.”

Until I discovered the existence of this last rule it was disconcerting to observe the facial expressions of some of those in the first two rows. Frequently they failed to react to my offering. That paragraph of instruction, therefore, was of assistance to my process of rationalization and the will to keep going.

We traveled that summer of 1920 by rail, even though the towns were seldom more than thirty miles apart — good towns during good corn weather — towns with the background and the leisure for the Chautauqua type of entertainment.

It seemed to me that certain white cloud formations on the June days belonged peculiarly to Iowa, and they stimulated memory of incidents that occurred when like weather conditions prevailed in the long ago. Wild roses along a railroad right-of-way, a peony bed in a front yard, the flash of a firefly, the smell of dampened dust after a rain, the echo from an evening ball game down in a pasture, the pound of a hammer on an anvil, a tattered circus poster against a barn, a bit of faded bunting that had served as decoration on a fete day — endless sights and smells and sounds — stirred me with their familiarity.

Close to all these towns crept the cornfields upon which they depended. Many yearning melodies have been written

about the beauty of cotton fields in bloom, but as one who had hitherto taken the green of homeland for granted there was heart contentment in again coming across the sight of corn peeping in endless rows above the black loam. I thought of the knee-high period, the lush growth hastening to outwit the frost, and the golden shocks of Indian summer.

Due to train schedules, I arrived in Traer in the middle of the night and found my way, with the aid of the town marshal, to the Oxford Hotel. Before I had been escorted to my room, however, Jack Norton came to offer greeting. Jack was from the old neighborhood in Hampton, and I realized that to him I was the symbol of the home town. Capitalizing on his nostalgia, I accepted his generosity in playing host.

Next morning I awoke in one of those white painted houses with a lean-to kitchen of the sort you observe from train windows as you pass through any small town. A grapevine trailed just outside the screen of the open window, and beyond was a sloping vegetable garden with its even rows of green contrasted against the rich dark soil. I was among people whom I had always known, and my night's rest under the roof brought more than physical refreshment.

The Nortons saw me off on the train for Grundy Center. There was still an air of adventure connected with train travel. It meant arriving at the depot in plenty of time. You waited in a quiet that was broken only by the click of the telegrapher's keys, and you never quite got over marveling how with such an apparently complicated instrument he could keep in contact with the outside world.

A glance at the depot map revealed how thoroughly Iowa was interlaced with railroad systems. Your own town on the map was just another dot. In all other towns but the one represented by that dot you were a stranger. But as

you traveled, you realized how much alike were all the Iowa towns. Each had a different set of characters but they played the same rôles. From the open car window you could overhear the goodbyes and the welcomes voiced without inhibitions on the station platform. Knowing the personnel of one town well, you knew their prototypes. But you were not of the same tribe, and the stranger fresh from an exchange of intimate conversation with neighbors boarded the train subdued and with certain reservations.

“Drummers” from the wholesale towns of Dubuque and Oskaloosa, even Chicago, still used the trains. Iowa had not reached the era, though it was close at hand, when clothes ceased to be a distinguishing feature, not only of one’s calling but between those who lived in the towns and those who dwelt on the farms. The “drummer” of that day made us conscious of the cut of his suits and the laundering of his linen. He radiated a self-sufficiency as he made himself comfortable on one of the plush seats and flipped the pages of an order book that he carried in his well-worn valise. His welcome at the crossroads store depended to some extent on the quality of his anecdotes. His successor in this respect is the radio comedian.

Coal yard, lumber yard, and grain elevator were a part of the railroad depot setting — as was the water tank, fed by an accommodating nearby creek at which the hot engines quenched their thirst. Each creek required a trestle over which the train altered the sound of its rhythmic click. Occasionally, instead of a creek, there was the wideness of a river belonging to a series of rivers that leisurely took their separate ways through the prairie to join the Mississippi or the Missouri. However much we might care for the prairie there was appreciation, too, for the tiniest of trickling streams; they afforded contrast to so much corn land.

Old mill sites had about them a mood of mystery, each brooding over past trips with grist, picnics, or skating parties. Riverbank trees shadowed the smooth surface above the dam where drownings had, at intervals, taken place in the bygone.

Frank Foster, an insurance man, came over from Iowa Falls to hear my lecture at Eldora. His companion at the brown tent that afternoon was Ellis Robb, then an Eldora resident, now living in Georgia. Both men had more than the ordinary fondness for their Iowa towns and cherished their lore. After twenty years as a wanderer, I was like a homing pigeon, sensing a geographical location from which my being had derived its chemical attributes. The next stop was Hampton.

Next morning we left Eldora on the M. & St. L., which I best remembered as "The Iowa Central". Members of the Weber Band, who wore their gold-braided uniforms at all times, complained of the jumpy roadbed, jerking me out of my reverie to a realization that perhaps the "I. C." had not been the great system of transportation it had seemed to my boyhood. The score and more musicians usually talked of Cincinnati. They predicted that "Jimmy" Cox of their native State would win over Harding in the national election that fall. They exchanged trade talk and paid little attention to the landscape. I was alone in my eagerness at the first sight of a familiar farmhouse with its willow windbreak, windmill, and big red barn. We passed Geneva. Only seven miles remained. I had walked the distance once while teaching school at "Four Mile Grove".

The brakeman swayed down the aisle of the train calling out "Hampton, Hampton", first loudly, and then with his voice trailing indistinctly. The bell of the engine could be heard as we penetrated the outskirts of the town to where

the maple-lined streets had been laid out with precision by the pioneers. The hiss of the engine died and we came to a stop.

It was high noon, the hour when storekeepers left business in the hands of their clerks and walked home to dinner. L. E. Shane stood in the doorway of his coal and lime office close to the tracks. His brother had married my mother's sister. He was a bearded man who, apparently, would have prospered in any business undertaking. In later years he moved to Keytesville, Missouri. Why, I never knew. His nephew, George Cameron, had come from Chicago as a small boy to live at his home. In getting acquainted, I had chased George into the house, hurling after him a piece of cinder that struck a corner of the Shane front window and caused a disheartening shattering of the pane. L. E. had probably forgotten the incident although I recalled how he had shaken me by the scruff of my neck.

The heat of a June sun blazed down upon the town as "Tex" (W. D.) Sherer drove me in his bus along the street leading to the courthouse square. It was a street given over to establishments catering to male patrons of the town and surrounding farms — Hobbie's and Chris Smith's blacksmith shops, the Jeffers' implement house with binders and hayrakes displayed on the sidewalk, the Clark and the Tom Phelps livery barns.

Traveling with me in the bus were Mr. Weber, Katherine Hoch, his soloist, and a bevy of drummers. Players in the band were walking up from the station on their way to selected boarding houses — Mrs. Brown's, perhaps, in the west end of town.

Had the episode been perfect in every detail, I would have stopped at the "Beed Hotel", a place that in my boyhood seemed akin to Buckingham Palace. This would have been my opportunity for the grand gesture of which I had

once dreamed. But the proud inn, erected in the early eighties, had been replaced by John E. Coonley's "North American Hotel". Such was the title on my schedule, and it did not sound familiar.

I was more than returning home. My personality, influenced through the years in making adjustments to the complexities of existence in other localities, was shifting back to its earlier grooves. I could not feel as Mr. Weber did, for instance, that such a combination of courthouse square and business district meant just another town. This was my world, and all that had happened since I left it was but an interlude. This was a town in which I knew every house and sagging alley barn, every peony bush in the yards, all its people and their antecedents.

From my hotel window I looked out upon the (W. J.) Stonebraker and (William) Marks two-story brick store building. It was a general store with no attempt at specialization and certainly free from standardization, where at least one of the clerks always spoke German. Many of the immigrant farmers from out by the mill pond appreciated the chance to carry on trade in their native tongue. It was a place, on cold winter Saturday afternoons, where these farmers, in their dogskin fur coats and felt boots, were free to leave their wives and children beside the warmth of the stove while they attended to other errands before returning home by bobsled.

For Chautauqua week we had the other weather extreme. This was one of those sultry days when the corn was being made in earnest. Above the roof of the general store I saw the formation of a black cloud pushing its way across the sky from the southwest. There was a well remembered humidity that had presaged summer storms. I recalled the high wind that wrenched cupolas from farm barns and uprooted maples in the town. There was that long ago

summer when we heard with awe of the devastating cyclone at Pomeroy in the western part of the State.

Had not my father, mother, and all my six brothers and sisters gone to live in California, I would have been at the old house at the edge of town that noon. My appetite was faulty as I sat alone at one of the small tables in the hotel dining room: we can't have everything. There was one warming incident connected with the meal. The waitress brought me an extra piece of cocoanut frosted cake, pointing as she did so to a woman who stood at the half ajar door that led to the kitchen. The delicacy was a remembrance from Eliza Blankenship, erstwhile cook, who belonged to the old days.

There was a greenish light and an ominous stillness about the town as I was being driven to the Chautauqua tent down in Charles Beed's pasture. A few late-goers to the afternoon program were glancing at the threatening sky. I reached the rear of the tent just as the storm broke.

The Weber Band, in providing my prelude, was pitting its music against the crash of thunder. I moved about in the dressing room to escape rain that dripped through openings in the brown canvas roof. Crewboys were pounding at the stakes and loosening the guy ropes to meet the onslaught. Out of deference to the occasion, Mr. Weber suddenly turned sentimental and ordered "Home, Sweet Home" for his final number. Then the musicians, concerned with protecting their instruments against the elements, came hurrying from the platform.

The sun came out before I had finished my lecture, giving a mellow yellowish glow to the roof of the tent.

Herbert E. Boehmler was one of the Hampton promoters of Chautauqua that summer. He belonged to that group, of a sort found in every town, willing to give time and even make up deficits in order that Chautauqua might keep

going. Through *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* I learned that his father and uncle had helped make possible "Culture through Lectures" in Cedar Falls in an early day. Instead of taking issue with the management, "Herb" was highly pleased to find a homemade product on the program, and to him I shall always be grateful.

In several Iowa towns I met at the Chautauqua tent someone I had known in Hampton. Frequently they invited me to their homes for dinner, at which we shared memories in common. At Manchester there were the Simmons boys who were cousins of the Rules in Hampton. At Independence I was the guest of Nellie Rule (Mrs. Peter Sheehan), and at Nevada I renewed acquaintance with the former Edith Wyatt who had been one of my Hampton school teachers.

Waverly meant seeing Dr. W. A. Rohlf, who had practised medicine in Hampton, and his wife (Lottie Beed), as well as Jed Hemingway, a dentist, of the Hampton Hemingways. We made Charles City, Osage, and Cresco, then toured Minnesota, returning early in July for engagements at LeMars, Sheldon, Sibley, Estherville, Spencer, Algona, Forest City, and Fort Dodge.

In any part of Iowa, except the river towns, I felt at home. A row of green onions in a garden patch near a lean-to kitchen — a frame one-story business building pretending, with its false front, to have a greater height — a hose cart beyond the open doorway of a firehouse — smooth mud surfaces cracked by sun and wind — a swing beneath an apple tree — a store clerk flirting with a pretty customer — a couple of weather-beaten farmers comparing crops — a tumbling white cloud above the tall grain elevator — a group waiting in front of the post office for the mail to be sorted — a game of croquet — a loafer and his dog on the bank corner — a vacant lot covered with burdock and mul-

len and foxtail — a cow being driven at milking time — a hay rake in front of an implement shop — trampled grass on a school playground — a drayman chatting with the station agent — the print of bare feet in a dusty road — a hen scratching for her flock — peony beds, snowball bushes, and dandelions — a house equipped with lightning rods — baseball grounds in a pasture — a rain barrel beside a cellar door.

Towns had been located in Iowa apparently for the slightest possible reason. Poor roads and lack of transportation facilities probably had much to do with their proximity to each other. Many a small town considered itself fortunate if connected with the rest of the country by a single railroad line even though it might be merely a branch of a main system.

On my journeys through the northern part of Iowa, I discovered one day that my schedule called for a change of cars at Gerled. Looking up the dot on the map I observed that the town was at the intersection of two lines of railroad. I was surprised on reaching the place to find that, in spite of this double advantage, all it could boast was a combined railroad station, post office, and store. In the one residence dwelt the entire population of the town. Cornfields waved close to the back door. There was a huge maple on the right of way embankment and I sprawled in its shade. It was harvest time, with the fields both gold and green, and white clouds floated in the blue sky. It was the most pleasing union station at which I have ever waited.

Victor Beed and his wife (Clara Buckingham), both of pioneer Hampton families, came to hear my lecture at Fort Dodge. Max Hemingway, brother of Jed, was on hand at Webster City. Hamptonites apparently had not migrated to Storm Lake, Lake City, Odebolt, Onawa, Woodbine, or

Denison, but at Harlan I had supper at the home of Louis French, undertaker, who had been a classmate of mine in the Hampton schools.

In Audubon I had the pleasure of visiting not only with Mrs. Bagley, a daughter of I. L. Stuart, pioneer Hampton editor, but also with "Professor" A. C. Ross, one of the first principals of the Hampton schools. Our last four towns in Iowa before dropping down into Missouri were Stuart, Newton, Montezuma, and Hedrick.

I had a previous experience in Hedrick, having attended a fair in the town as a reporter for the *Ottumwa Courier*. I believe in the trial and error method of progress, and it was at Hedrick that I decided never again to be careless about hanging onto my notes. I had written down all the results of the Hedrick fair events but they were missing from my pocket when I returned that night to the *Courier* office. During my newspaper career thereafter, when anyone accused me of being a fussbudget I offered no retort but to myself said — "Hedrick".

The land boom was at its most feverish stage that summer of 1920. No sooner had I joined the Chautauqua circuit than I began to hear of activity in farm sales. One of our platform superintendents was a school teacher in winter. He told me he had just sold a farm that had been in his possession but a few days and that the profit was more than he could have earned at teaching for years. I remember the argument that was being put forth. There was only so much good corn country. It would be many years before European countries, torn by war, would be able to produce foodstuffs. Europe would continue to depend on the corn belt.

It was not the Iowa I remembered in the 90's, when there had been little money in circulation. Everyone now seemed prosperous but, I thought, less human and picturesque.

These other county seats with their courthouse squares and their bandstands and their grain elevators, and their barns in the alleys, were all undergoing the same change brought about by the land boom.

In the 90's, folks on the farms had made no pretension at keeping up with the styles. Local storekeepers were able to dispose of out-of-date garments that had plenty of wear in them and could be sold at a cheaper price. The main idea then was to meet mortgage payments. Now farm youth not only were garbed like their brethren in town but there was more flippancy in their demeanor. They drove automobiles over the rough roads and talked the lingo used by mechanics. No doubt all this meant progress but also it took away color from the earlier scene.

Despite the land boom each of the towns had its stubborn remnants of a vanishing era — an occasional hitching post, a bit of picket fence, a strip of board sidewalk. Each town now had its colony in California. At first only the well-to-do deserted the lilacs and maples for palms and poinsettias, but eventually even the poor joined in the exodus.

At Canton, Missouri, along the Mississippi River, I found myself comparing the environment of Mark Twain's boyhood with what the Iowa prairie had to offer. Late in August, vegetation along the high banks of the river was of a dusty luxuriance. In the town, green-shuttered, wide-porched, fence-enclosed houses were set well back from worn brick walks. All this was strange to me; my requirements were flat stretches of lush green grass waved by the winds, creeks that crept out of endless cornfields, uninterrupted sunsets at the prairie's edge.

There was a leisureness about the Missouri people. Their farms were not as large as those in Iowa. The civilization was older, the climate a bit softer, and there was more of a tendency to take time out for activities not wholly con-

cerned with material gains. I became conscious that summer that the line between Missouri and my native Iowa was something more than imaginary. No doubt the Civil War had much to do with the distinction that was more than geographic. There seemed to be more to eat in Missouri, at least more was placed on dining tables — platters piled high with eggs at breakfast and a variety of preserves at all meals.

The best corn country, I was told, included an area that took in part of southwest Iowa, northwest Missouri, and southeast Nebraska. My own Franklin County had excellent corn land and seldom had a crop failure but here, along the uncertain banks of the muddy Missouri River, the stalks rose to their greatest height.

Lingering in so many towns of my home State that Chautauqua summer and listening each day to the band concert as it preceded my lecture and provided the full program at night, my musings concerning the scene were influenced no doubt by this musical accompaniment. On summer evenings as I strolled the streets or sat in my hotel room I could hear the blend of brass and fluted instruments floating from the brown tent, never at any great distance. Regardless of the title of the overture or what had been the mood of its composer, for me the selection was a symphony into which was woven memories of emotions having to do with the lives of a people in what had become a composite Iowa town.

It was a symphony that began with a period not so far in the past when the prairie had been an unexplored region, the lush green in spring dotted with wild flowers of every color. My father had told me about those flowers that now remained only along the railroad right-of-ways and in obscure pastures that escaped the plow.

Then into the section had struggled those settlers whose

whims had located townsites and given them their names. With the growth of willow windbreaks the blizzards had lost much of their fury. Trading posts within a generation had matured into towns with their destinies fixed apparently for all time. Into the localities there had been brought a variety of backgrounds and traditions, now so mingled that the people were of one stamp, and it was only through an occasional remark or from an obituary that one learned of previous existences.

Mount Pleasant was our first Iowa town after the swing into Missouri. I was aware that this had been the birthplace of the P. E. O. Dr. Evan Evans, son of Judge W. E. Evans of Hampton, was in the audience that afternoon. Evan was then practicing at Grinnell. Greenfield, then Corning, and then those two super small towns, Red Oak and Shenandoah. At Seymour I was the guest of Milton Bates.

O. B. Bates, father of Milton, was Hampton's pioneer photographer with quarters over the William G. Beed feed store. Most of the faded photographs in Franklin County were taken by Mr. Bates. His equipment included canvas frames on which were painted garden scenes or mansion interiors. Against this stagey background the chair in which he seated bridegrooms had an arrangement for holding the neck in place. The bride stood in all of Mr. Bates' wedding pictures, possibly not for the purpose of etiquette but to display the ruffles of her gown. The business of Mr. Bates flourished during Fourth of July celebrations, when couples, meeting perhaps for the first time, desired a pictorial record of their romance.

There were times when I arrived in a strange town after nightfall. Then scattered electric street lights gave the impression of a much larger place than daylight revealed. Imagination filled in the dark gaps. Again, in order to

conform to train schedules, arrival in a town would take place early in the morning before the householders were awake. I recall business streets with a row of stores casting long shadows of dawn and the barber pole resembling a lone bystander. In due time, the grocery clerk and the baker came to exchange greetings as they swept off their sidewalks. I envied their comradeship, the intimacy of their shared anecdotes which only a denizen of the community could appreciate.

At a town that summer my trail crossed with that of Ruth Bryan Owen, who was lecturing for a rival Chautauqua agency. Humorously, she told me that the same Swiss Yodelers who had derisively furnished the theme for cartoonists in depicting her famous father's Chautauqua career, were playing her prelude. In discussing the handicaps confronting a speaker, she said that on the previous night lights shining in the faces of members of the audience had distracted their attention.

Audiences were not always aware of the cause of their inability to fully enjoy a program, but those on the platform knew what was happening. It might be a passing train, the pounding of a tent stake, or a crying baby. It was fatal for a speaker to call attention to these obstacles, particularly to an uncomfortable baby.

William Jennings Bryan and many persons of national importance had visited far flung Iowa towns on Chautauqua programs, and in many of the homes where I stopped these personalities had been dinner guests. Persons in the towns remembered what Opie Read had said off the platform as well as in his lecture. Radio means that these intimate associations probably are a thing of the past.

Crewboys employed for putting up and tearing down the brown tents were recruited from Grinnell, Cornell, and other colleges in the State. The chance to travel and ob-

tain funds demanded for continuance of study in the fall was coveted by the young men, and the Chautauqua management was in a position to choose the best.

The crewboys created their own slang expressions and shared experiences much after the manner of youths in the army. They made lasting acquaintances among residents of the towns with whom they remained for a week's stretch. They were required to wield a sledge hammer with telling blows, and they took pride, similar to that of a sailor, in their ability to so pitch the tent that it could withstand the summer windstorms.

Because of their fresh slant on life and their academic background, the crewboys were perhaps the keenest judges of the merits of a platform attraction. It was their privilege to hear a lecture many times and they were quick to catch discrepancies in a speaker's material. On occasions when they voiced their criticism, there was accuracy of appraisal in their pungent comments.

We closed the season in September at Kirkwood, a suburb of St. Louis, and I returned to Chicago for another winter of newspaper work. I decided I was through with Chautauqua but toward spring Mr. Vawter sent me a contract to go on a circuit covering smaller towns in the area. I hesitated and was lost. Compared with the opportunity of being again in the open spaces and traveling from town to town in a section where my soul was rooted, Chicago lost all appeal.

Again, in 1921, I found myself crossing the Mississippi into the humid atmosphere of another Iowa June day. This time we started at Roland, near Marshalltown, shifted north into Minnesota, were for several weeks in North Dakota, and then wound back through Minnesota, Iowa, and northern Missouri. Stopping with me at the hotel in Roland were other members of the platform group.

The program for the five-day series given during this summer included the following attractions: on the afternoon of the first day a concert by the Charmian Concert Party and in the evening, more music and a lecture on "America's Tomorrow", by Dr. John Marvin Dean; the second day presented a concert by the Di Georgio Orchestra in the afternoon, a musical prelude in the evening and a lecture in native costume by Wherahiko Rawei, a native of one of the Samoan Islands, on "A Gentle Breeze From Tropic Seas"; on the afternoon of the third day I gave my lecture, listed as "In the Other Fellow's Shoes". This time I spoke without benefit of music, "starting cold" in Chautauqua parlance, and the evening entertainment was a play "The Bubble", managed by J. Moy Bennett; the fourth day's program presented a pageant, "A Mother Goose Party", and a lecture on "What's in the Farmer's Mind", by J. F. Conner, in the afternoon and in the evening a concert by the Adanac Male Quartette, imported from Canada; the last day's program featured the Barnaby Entertainers and a lecture by H. Richmond Mills on "The Battleground of the Nation". Admission for all programs except the play was fifty cents for adults, with an additional charge of five cents war tax.

"A Chautauqua program", explained Mr. Vawter in his foreword that summer, "is not an expression of personal views, but rather an aggregation of men and women whom we believe to be capable of making us think more clearly, read more widely, sympathize more broadly, yet ever keeping in mind that our clientele include the educated, those not so favored, young and old, keen and dull." Chautauqua audiences were to be given something to carry away.

When I reached Roland, the opening town, I saw Wherahiko Rawei seated in front of the hotel gazing out over the green fields. He was more or less in native costume, pre-

senting, according to the vernacular, "an attraction off stage as well as on." I quote from the folder:

"Waving cocoanut palms, native costumes, colored lights, Polynesian songs and music, with amusing examples of tribal dances, war chants and ceremonial marriage incantations, numerous pathetic stories portraying native life and customs, are all a part of a production that will weave around you a spell."

Needless to say, Rawei was a "sure-fire" attraction. He brought novelty and color, and the story of a life in a far-off land, but I think Mr. Vawter would have preferred that Mr. Conner's lecture be given the most attention. Mr. Conner, who looked like a farmer, discussed a number of questions. "Is the farmer a profiteer?" "What is the destiny of The Farm Bureau?" "Do you understand the crisis in the farming industry?" "Do you know what is in the farmer's mind?" Mr. Conner was described as being neither "an alarmist nor a propagandist. . . . His ideas are soundly conservative and constructive." Twenty years after, I have a feeling that what Mr. Conner had to say that summer probably was paramount in importance to anything else on the program, for the farm problem was beginning to trouble. I was not able to hear either of these lectures, for Mr. Rawei appeared on the second day and Mr. Conner on the fourth day, while I spoke on the third day.

On that day, my lecture provided the entire afternoon entertainment, and the Bubble company, with whom I traveled, gave the performance at night. One of the reasons for the choice of "The Bubble" was that it could be enacted satisfactorily by a cast of five people. Before the summer was over I was able to repeat each line of the play from having watched it every night. I enjoyed not only the play but the reaction of the audience as well.

There were nights when something went wrong at the electric power plant and automobiles accommodated by drawing up close to furnish proper stage illumination with their headlights. There were creaking stage boards due to a crewboy's negligence. There was wind and there was rain and there were mosquitoes. But I am sure the play that summer brought all the smiles and tears and moments of suspense which its author had intended.

The feminine character rôle in the play was taken by Miss Josephine Wehn who was a long way from her mother's apartment on 97th Street in New York City. Often we stopped in private homes instead of at the hotels. Miss Wehn's effort to locate a room with the proper exposure and the desired style of lace curtains caused her to expend much of her needed energy. In these endeavors she did as much tramping as a book agent and never seemed to better herself in the end. Hearing of her experiences, Mr. Bennett would philosophize that inasmuch as we were only in town for a day it was foolish to shop around.

By 1921 the automobile was beginning to take the place of trains for travel between towns. The owner of the livery barn was giving way to the possessor of a car, willing to carry others for a fee, though insisting that he handle the machine himself. These new adventurers in the field of transportation were called upon by the Chautauqua management. It did not occur to me then to put a finger on the definite change taking place, and I am not sure that railroad men with their fortunes involved were at that time willing to admit the danger of this competition.

Cement highways were as yet rare enough to bring exclamations of joy when they fitted into the route, and there were farmers, no doubt thinking of the expense, who contended that gravel would always be preferable to the hard road. The Fords that furnished conveyance were of the

adjustable side-curtain variety, and the small tires required frequent mending due to blowouts and punctures. Mud meant uncertainty in reaching a destination, and there were stops at farmhouses for water to quench the constant thirst of the radiator. That summer I heard much about burnt-out connecting rods and faulty carburetors.

Laundry was a problem and, in a pinch, members of the play company proved their resourcefulness. Soft collars were dried by plastering them against the mirror, an up-turned bureau drawer served for an ironing board, and a string stretched from the bedpost to the door knob provided a clothesline.

In appearance I was not the public speaker of popular fancy, but I strove to make up for my shortcomings in that most difficult of arts that looks so easy. The other fellow can still fool me when I forget, momentarily, that there is no such thing as a successful extemporaneous speech. I had reason to be grateful to members of the play company for helping me in building up my ego. They insisted that I say to myself, "This is mine and I know it is good." They were firm believers in the phrase, "When ego is lost, all is lost." The only safe course for the Chautauqua lecturer to follow was to wade right along, regardless of train whistles or flapping canvas or the sound of Fords in reverse.

Our third stop that summer was Nashua, where I attended services in the Little Brown Church in the Vale. After leaving Riceville we pushed on into Minnesota and North Dakota, but early in July crossed back over the State line for thirty-five engagements in Iowa starting at Lansing, with its Swiss-like scenery along the Mississippi.

At Lansing, R. G. Miller, formerly a penmanship teacher in the Hampton school but now a banker, was waiting to greet me. "Professor" Miller in the old days had loomed

as important as the school superintendent. Aside from being an instructor in writing and drawing, he organized a boys' debating society and had a strong influence in the molding of character. He had a hatred for deceit in any form and inculcated a desire on the part of his pupils to follow the straight and narrow path. Our school teachers, when they were real leaders, had a decided influence on our morals. In a pre-typewriter age, Mr. Miller stressed the advantage of clear handwriting. He was able to scroll letters with a flourish, to draw birds with shaded pen scratches, and gave us expert examples of ovals executed in a free hand movement. Like most of our teachers, Miller was not Hampton born but the town seemed to mean as much to him as it did to me. I had the feeling of still being one of his pupils. For a keepsake, he gave me a tiny pearl that had been taken from a mussel shell in the Father of Waters that flowed, with a bulge, to form Iowa's eastern border.

At McGregor I was invited to dinner at the home of the former Carrie Pellet who had lived as a girl on a farm near Latimer in the western part of Franklin County. It was near Latimer that my father had a farm in early days. Our family and the Pellet family had thus become acquainted, and when Carrie was in town she visited at our home. Somehow I associated her with lonely summer nights out on the prairie in a part of the county that, before tiling was undertaken, was filled with sloughs. Carrie had big dark eyes and a good singing voice. Her repertoire consisted of a group of melancholy tunes, one of which was of a narrative nature: "The Newhall House is Burning to the Ground".

The smaller the towns, the warmer the hospitality. There were stretches when meal expense was reduced to a minimum. I was glad when Fred Adams, one of the actors,

was a fellow guest at the dinner table for he was the possessor of all the drawing room graces — never at a loss for words, his voice full of cadences, his manners polished. He was tall, dark, and handsome. We offered a contrast. Later on in the evening, during the course of the play, he was such a scoundrel that I think oftentimes his dinner table acquaintances shuddered in memory of how narrowly they had escaped peril at his hands.

At one of the Iowa towns, Fred Adams and I stayed at the home of a dentist. He had his office in the house, and after discussing with him the harm done by infections from dead teeth, it occurred to me that here was an opportune occasion for having one of my troublesome molars extracted. Mr. Adams agreed with me, time hanging heavy on his hands, and of course the dentist was not loathe to make use of his equipment. All went merrily until my offending molar objected to the tug of the forceps. Part of the tooth surrendered, but the greater portion of the root stubbornly stuck to familiar surroundings. The dentist called upon Adams for assistance and he was more than willing to give aid. The dentist asked him to “pound” and the villain pounded; the resounding whack was like that from a crewboy’s sledge hammer.

When Mr. Bennett met me at the tent that afternoon, he said he thought I looked pale and that my humor was stilted. I explained the cause. Sarcastically, he accused me of having had my tooth pulled just because I had stopped at a dentist’s home.

In the next town the Chautauqua director said he had engaged rooms for us at the home of a physician and surgeon. Bennett wryly advised me to hang onto my appendix. On the following day he gave me another of his wise glances when the lady of the house, asked about her husband’s profession, replied that he was an undertaker.

I learned that the too prosperous or the too poor communities did not provide good Chautauqua audiences. The former were so engrossed in making money that their cultural side withered, and the latter were inclined to prefer physical thrills furnished by the hot dog and roller coaster. The ideal Chautauqua audience, therefore, was to be found in agricultural territory where there was an atmosphere that permitted reflection and programs were remembered year after year. Postville, located where four county lines converge, was an excellent town for any traveling attraction to visit, as the Ringling Brothers Circus had discovered.

I had finished my lecture at Clermont and was leaving the platform when I was met by Mrs. William Larrabee, widow of a former Governor of the State. She asked me to tea and a chauffeur motored us to her farm home. We came to a mansion whose architecture had been considered from the standpoint of charm as well as utility. It was something strange in the cornfield setting. There was evidence that the rural home had been planned with the idea that oncoming generations might care to live there, rather than "move to town" or to California. For a windbreak, instead of quick growing willows, there was a whispering grove of majestic pines.

I thought of the blood and treasure that had gone from Iowa to build up southern California. It was as if a pipeline had connected the two States, with the west coast receiving interest on mortgages and rentals of absentee landlords. It occurred to me that if others had been willing to spend money on heating plants and other comforts for their Iowa farm homes, they would have found equal if not greater pleasure in the change of seasons to which they were accustomed and in the companionship of their old neighbors.

Despite the trek to California and signs that the land boom was now on the wane, Iowa with its deep black loam was still a place of plenty. Catastrophe was due to descend subtly rather than in dramatic fashion.

Beginning to appear obvious that summer, however, was the lessening in importance of small towns surrounding the county seats. Distances were slowly being shattered and minor trading places were losing out to those having a greater variety of goods to offer. There was not a community now that did not have its quota in California. Later, I was to meet these transplanted souls at one of those huge Iowa picnics near Los Angeles, where the scene suggested a day of resurrection to which the ghosts of persons acquainted with each other in a previous existence communed in heart hungry reminiscence.

Continuing with the brown tents we visited Fayette, Edgewood, Anamosa, Hopkinton, Wyoming, Bellevue, DeWitt, Wilton, Kalona, New Sharon, Morning Sun, Wapello, New London, Milton, Moulton, Brooklyn, and Gilman. Gilman brought a decided break in the routine, for when I reached that town early in the morning I discovered my father had journeyed from Long Beach, California, to hear my lecture. He was then in his eightieth year and was still keen mentally and physically, although somewhat worn out from the long train trip. There he sat in the Gilman hotel, not only waiting to see me but anxious for the hours to pass that he might have a chance to hear me on the platform.

After more than forty years in Hampton, where my father had been a pioneer, he had succumbed to the lure of the California climate. I had written him of my Chautauqua experiences, taking pains to enclose the best newspaper notices, and here he was, determined to find out for himself what it was all about. Dr. George Ward, formerly clerk in

the Hampton bookstore, was now a physician in Gilman and he invited us to his home for dinner.

I could see that my father was apprehensive concerning my oratorical powers. We had never seen eye to eye in my choice of a newspaper career. He had the pioneer attitude that a newspaper editor with money to invest might be on a sound basis, but that trying to write for a living was a precarious undertaking. As for my presumption of being a public speaker, he seemed to have his doubts. Members of "The Bubble" play company took to my father at once. He had spent his late boyhood in New York City before enlisting for the Civil War, and they were interested in his inquiries about old landmarks which he had not seen for more than half a century.

The tent was well filled that afternoon but I was conscious of only one member of the audience. I could not judge his reaction to my lecture, but I was thinking of many things apart from what I was trying to give the audience. There had been that wintry night when I had returned home a bit ragged from the buffets of a harsh world and sat, all but defeated, with my feet on the fender of the hard coal burner with its isinglass door and its pipe running through the upstairs bedroom. I had been defiant and he had been worried. Unusual for him, he had displayed a bit of sympathy — not toward my aspirations but in his anxiety over what was to become of me. I was conscious of his concern that I must not admit my failure to the town.

It was a carry-over of this sort of relationship between us that influenced my lecture that afternoon. When it was over, my father suggested that he would like to travel with us for a few days, to which all members of the play company responded with enthusiasm. He continued with us to Collins and Baxter, deeply interested in the details of the movements of the tents. Whenever the occasion offered,

he talked with the villagers, and this phase of his activities bothered me for I desired that he retain an impression of how I was getting along by the press clippings I had selected for him. J. Moy Bennett and Fred Adams of the play company put my fears at rest, insisting that with my father's one good ear he heard only the complimentary remarks, or if they might prove otherwise, he twisted them to his own satisfaction.

When we departed for Anita, Iowa, my father continued on to Hampton for a visit before returning west. Anita was the home town of Harry P. and Vernon Harrison, managers of the Redpath Chautauqua and lyceum with circuits through the southern and north central States.

Then came Fontanelle, Stanton, Tabor — a college town — Elliott, Lewis, Shelby, Carson, Burlington Junction, and Coin. Our last dozen towns that summer were in Missouri.

Gay as was the tent and its pennants in summer time, the canvas was allergic to the hint of frost in the prairie air. That fall, when the crickets began their chirp in the faded grasses, I realized not only that the season of the Iowa circuit was nearing its close but that Chautauqua itself would soon be no more.

For years, now, the brown tents have been folded, yet there is the echo of Chautauqua's music and message still whispering across the cornfields.

ONEY FRED SWEET

HOLLYWOOD COOK COUNTY ILLINOIS

THE IOWA DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

The administration of relief in the United States was traditionally a function of local government. Aid to the indigent has taken a variety of forms but the basis has been the inability of a person to care for himself. According to the Iowa poor law, a poor person is one who has no property and who "because of physical or mental disabilities" is unable to earn a living by labor. This definition of need has been expanded through the years and there has also been an assumption of activities by Federal and State governments to supplement and in some cases to supersede the local relief program.

This process of centralizing relief, like the trend in other fields of governmental activities, has been an evolutionary one, but in the last decade the development of relief and welfare programs by the State and Federal governments has been rapid and cataclysmic. The process has been further complicated during the past decade by the fact that public assistance has developed several distinct problems. State and Federal agencies at first emphasized relief of those in need because of unemployment, but the relief set-up also includes child welfare, old-age assistance, public health activities, and aid for the handicapped. Each of these problems has demanded some governmental solution.

This relationship of government to the problem of relief has become intricate and complicated in the years since 1930. A myriad of governmental agencies undertaking programs of alleviation and cure have added to the complexity of welfare administration. Even a casual examination of the question of relief makes apparent the need for a divi-

sion of responsibility between Federal, State, and local programs.

The passage of the Social Security Act in 1935 was an attempt to clarify the rôles to be played by the national government and the States in the development of an integrated public assistance policy. According to that statute, the national government was to undertake directly the administration of old-age insurance, work relief for the unemployed, and aid for certain groups — such as those aided by the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps. The States or the local governments were to assume the burden of general relief, provide unemployment insurance, and with Federal financial assistance were to organize a program of old-age assistance, child welfare, and aid for the handicapped. A permanent program for the relief of the needy was to be worked out along these lines.

THE FEDERAL SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

The Social Security Act as approved by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on August 14, 1935, promoted a widespread attack on the causes and consequences of economic depression. It was at once “a measure of prevention and a method of alleviation”. The statute included five essential provisions: (1) grants to States for programs to aid the needy aged, the needy blind, and needy dependent children; (2) encouragement of State unemployment compensation programs; (3) a national scheme of old-age insurance; (4) grants for the extension of services by the United States Public Health Service and the Federal Vocational Rehabilitation Service and for the fostering of maternal and child-welfare programs; and (5) the levying of adequate taxes to support the program.¹

¹ The Social Security Act may be found in the *United States Statutes at*

Responsibility for supervising and administering the programs of public assistance, unemployment compensation, and old-age insurance was placed in the hands of a Social Security Board appointed by and responsible to the President. The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor was to administer the maternal and child-health services, the child-welfare program, and aid for crippled children. Vocational rehabilitation was to be undertaken by the Office of Education in the Department of the Interior. To stimulate interest and to provide aid in the field of public health was to be the function of the Public Health Service in the Treasury Department. The tax provisions of the statute were to be administered by the Internal Revenue Bureau, also in the Treasury Department.

This lack of integration in the administration of the Social Security Act soon gave rise to difficulties which, added to the rapid development of welfare activities after the approval of the Federal statute, led to demands for changes, along with the general discussion of governmental reorganization. Consequently, President Roosevelt suggested to Congress that the social welfare agencies of the Federal government, with minor exceptions, be combined. This suggestion Congress approved.

Therefore, since July 1, 1939, most of the bureaus charged with the administration of the public welfare program have been centralized in a Federal Security Agency immediately responsible to the President. A Federal Security Administrator, named by the President, was made

Large, Vol. 49, p. 620 ff. Discussions of the statute may be found in Douglas's *Social Security*; Stewart's *Social Security*; Epstein's *Insecurity A Challenge to America* (Second Revised Edition), pp. 669-923; and the Social Security Board's *Social Security in America*. The reader may also be interested in the *Annual Reports of the Social Security Board*, the *Social Security Bulletin*, published monthly by the Social Security Board, and the *Social Security Yearbook* of the same agency. An introduction to the topic may be found in the Board's *Some Basic Readings in Social Security*.

the head of the Agency. The Social Security Board, the Office of Education, the Public Health Service, and similar agencies such as the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration were placed under the direction of this Administrator. Paul V. McNutt has held this position since its creation.²

The Federal Social Security Board is composed of three members appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. Arthur J. Altmeyer has been designated by the President as Chairman of the Board. The other members are George E. Bigge and Ellen S. Woodward. To aid in the functioning of the security program, the Federal Board is divided into three operating and three service divisions as follows: Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance, Bureau of Employment Security, Bureau of Public Assistance, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Bureau of Accounts and Audits, and an Information Service.³

Unemployment Compensation

The Federal Social Security Act provides for the creation of State programs of unemployment insurance. To encourage the creation of such programs, the Federal statute outlines what is known as a tax credit offset. An excise tax of three per cent is levied upon the pay rolls of employers of eight or more persons. If, however, the employer is already making a contribution to a State plan of unemployment insurance he is exempted from ninety per cent of the Federal tax. Out of the ten per cent received the Federal government pays certain administrative costs. State plans as to contributions collected and benefits paid

² For provisions and details of the reorganization of the Social Security agencies see the *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. 53, pp. 1424-1426.

³ A summary of the duties of the Social Security Board may be found in the *United States Government Manual*, Fall, 1940, pp. 311-319.

must receive the approval of the Federal Board before the tax offset becomes effective.

Late in 1936 the State of Iowa created an Unemployment Compensation Commission responsible for the administration of this program. The three Commissioners in charge are directly responsible to the Governor. This agency is not, however, a part of the Iowa Department of Social Welfare.

Old-Age and Survivors Insurance

The Federal Social Security Act as amended in 1939 provides for two types of aid for the aged: old-age and survivors insurance and old-age assistance. The old-age insurance program is sponsored and administered by the Federal government and should not be confused with Federal-State plans of old-age assistance.

The old-age and survivors insurance program is administered by a separate division of the Federal Social Security Board. Qualified individuals making contributions to the insurance fund after December 31, 1936, are entitled to insurance benefits upon reaching the age of sixty-five, without regard to need. These payments are to be calculated upon the basis of wages received by the worker while employed. Surviving widows and orphans or aged dependent parents of deceased workers are to receive survivors insurance based upon the same calculations. The first old-age insurance payments began in 1940.

This particular aspect of social security is administered by the national government and requires no State governmental machinery. The features of the Federal Social Security Act which do particularly concern the Iowa Department of Social Welfare are those relating to child welfare and public assistance to the old and the blind.⁴

⁴ Because these provisions provide a basis for certain activities of the Iowa Department of Social Welfare they will be discussed in some detail.

Old-Age Assistance

A program of old-age assistance (as distinct from old-age insurance) was outlined by the Federal Social Security Act in 1935. The plan was to have State-administered programs receive financial assistance in the form of Federal grants-in-aid. For States to receive these grants the State statutes must meet the following Federal standards: (1) the law is to be in effect in all the political subdivisions of the State; (2) the State (as distinct from local governments) is to participate financially in the program; (3) a single State agency is to be responsible for the administration; (4) provision must be made for a fair hearing by the State agency for individuals whose claims for assistance are denied; (5) there must be organized such administrative agencies as may be necessary for the efficient operation of the program; and (6) the State agency shall make such reports as the Federal Social Security Board may require.

Supplementing these required standards of the original Social Security Act, Congress in 1939 approved some significant amendments. One change related to "the establishment and maintenance of personnel standards on a merit basis, except that the [Federal] Board shall exercise no authority with respect to the selection, tenure of office, and compensation of any individual employed in accordance with such methods". It should be noted that this provision, effective on January 1, 1940, and after, made necessary changes in the State laws which had been approved previously.⁵

Two other amendments provided that after July 1, 1941, "the State agency shall, in determining need, take into consideration any other income and resources of an individual claiming old-age assistance" and that such information

⁵ Aronson's *Six Months of State Merit System Progress* in the *Social Security Bulletin*, July, 1940; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. 53, p. 1360.

should be considered as confidential. These changes emphasized the policy of the Federal government that old-age assistance should be granted only to those actually in need. This amendment was necessary because in some States (as for example in Colorado) old-age pensions were granted with little or no regard to need.

As a means of guaranteeing equitable participation in the program, no State law was to have, after January 1, 1940, a minimum age requirement of more than sixty-five years. No residence requirement may exclude any resident of a State who has resided therein five years during the nine years immediately preceding the application for old-age assistance and has resided therein continuously for one year immediately preceding the application. No citizen of the United States is to be excluded because of race or color.

The method of certifying and calculating these Federal grants was also outlined in the Social Security Act. Upon estimates submitted to the Social Security Board by the State agencies, the Federal administration each quarter of the fiscal year grants one-half of the sum to meet the need of the approved program. However, Federal aid is given only on State grants of not over forty (originally thirty) dollars a month. If a State, for example, fixes thirty-four dollars a month as the maximum old-age pension, the Federal government will contribute seventeen dollars; but if the State increases its pension limit to forty-five dollars, the Federal government will pay only twenty dollars. If, after Federal approval, a State plan is altered so that it does not measure up to the Federal standards, the Social Security Board is authorized to suspend further financial grants.⁶

⁶ Provisions of the Social Security Act and subsequent amendments relating to old-age assistance may be found in the *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. 49, p. 620, Vol. 53, p. 1360 ff.

Child Welfare

The Federal Social Security Act makes provision for several types of aid for children. Grants through the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor are to be made to the States for maternal and child-health services, aid for crippled children, and for child welfare.⁷

Child-welfare activities are promoted by Federal grants to the proper State agencies. These grants are made by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor "in establishing, extending, and strengthening, especially in predominantly rural areas, public-welfare services". The appropriations are specifically "for the protection and care of homeless, dependent, and neglected children, and children in danger of becoming delinquent". The amounts of these grants are fixed by the Children's Bureau upon the basis of plans developed jointly by the State agency and the Bureau. Each coöperating State is to receive \$10,000 for each fiscal year and such part of the remainder of the annual Congressional appropriation "as the rural population of such State bears to the total rural population of the United States."

These grants are to be used "for payment of part of the cost of district, county or other local child-welfare services in areas predominantly rural, and for developing State services for the encouragement and assistance of adequate methods of community child-welfare organization in areas predominantly rural and other areas of special need."⁸

Aid to the Blind

The Federal Social Security Act provides the basis of

⁷ Provision was also made for the promotion of general public-health activities. The child-welfare provisions are here discussed in detail because of their connection with Iowa legislation.

⁸ Provisions for child-welfare services may be found in the Social Security Act in the *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. 49, p. 633.

a Federal-State plan of coöperation in aiding the blind. Such provisions are similar to the organization of the Federal-State old-age assistance program. In order that the State program may receive Federal financial assistance it is required to meet Federal standards, which may be summarized as follows: (1) the State program is to operate in all the political subdivisions of the State; (2) the State is to participate financially; (3) the program is to be administered by a single State agency; (4) any individual whose claim for assistance has been denied is to be entitled to a fair hearing before the State agency; (5) the State is to provide such means of administration as will be adequate and efficient; (6) the State agency is to provide such information as the Federal Social Security Board may require; and (7) no individual is to receive aid to the blind while receiving old-age assistance.

Similar to the changes made in the old-age assistance standards, the provisions for aid to the blind were amended in 1939. The State personnel administering the statute is to be selected upon the basis of merit, all sources of income of the applicant are to be investigated, and such information is to be held confidential. The citizenship and residence requirements are the same as those for the old-age assistance program.

Commencing on January 1, 1940, the amount of Federal aid for needy blind is to be calculated upon the basis of information supplied by the State agency. The Federal grant is to be one-half of sums up to and including forty (originally thirty) dollars per month. But any State agency refusing to meet Federal requirements is not entitled to Federal funds.⁹

⁹ Provisions for aid to the blind may be found in the Social Security Act in the *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. 49, p. 645. Attention is also called to the Social Security Board's *Compilation of Social Security Laws*, a summary of all the Federal statutes pertaining to the Social Security Board.

Federal-State Coöperation

The responsibility for the actual administration of the programs of unemployment compensation, old-age assistance, child welfare, and aid to the handicapped rests with the States. The primary function of the Federal Social Security Board is to provide supervision of these activities and to administer the old-age and survivors insurance program. The supervisory activities of the Federal Social Security Board have been facilitated by the establishment of regional offices in twelve accessible centers. Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nebraska comprise Region VIII, with Minneapolis, Minnesota, as the administrative center. The functions of these regional offices are to coördinate the programs of their area and to provide information to the States upon request. A regional attorney and a staff of statisticians and public-assistance experts provide the States with necessary assistance.¹⁰

Since the beginning of 1940, the Social Security Board has maintained supervision over the State programs by "a sampling administrative review". By investigating local costs and complaints the Board has been able to generalize upon the effectiveness of the State programs. This method assumes that the State administration has been standardized into a fixed pattern.¹¹

Growth and Extent of the Federal Program

From the date of the adoption of the Social Security Act in 1935 until the end of the fiscal year 1940 there has been a continuous extension of welfare activities of the Federal and State governments. In its *Fifth Annual Report* (1939-1940) the Federal Social Security Board stated that "old-

¹⁰ *Annual Report of the Social Security Board* (U. S.), 1935-1936, p. 5.

¹¹ *Annual Report of the Social Security Board* (U. S.), 1939-1940, p. 96.

age assistance was administered under plans approved . . . in all 48 States, Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia. At the end of the year 41 States, Hawaii and the District of Columbia were administering aid to the blind".¹² All of the forty-eight States had adopted plans for unemployment compensation.

Since the adoption of the Federal Social Security Act, the number of persons in the United States receiving public assistance has increased. For example, 430,000 persons were receiving old-age assistance in January, 1936, and 1,909,000 were listed in December, 1939. And the number of blind pensioners increased from 37,000 in January, 1936, to 70,000 in December, 1939.¹³ The total amount received by recipients of old-age assistance in 1936 was \$155,239,000; for the fiscal year 1939-1940 the amount had increased to \$472,859,000. Aid granted to the blind during the same period increased from \$12,813,000 to \$21,764,000.¹⁴

The administrative expenses of the Social Security Board have increased from the million dollars appropriated in 1935 to a twenty-five million dollar appropriation in 1940. Total grants to States for all programs administered under the Social Security Act have increased as follows: 1935-1936, \$40,635,000; 1936-1937, \$189,170,000; 1937-1938, \$235,075,000; 1938-1939, \$342,150,000; and 1939-1940, \$358,655,000.¹⁵

¹² *Annual Report of the Social Security Board* (U. S.), 1939-1940, p. 90. It should again be noted that statistics are given only as they apply as a basis for understanding Iowa's Department of Social Welfare. Thus, information on aid to dependent children and unemployment compensation is omitted.

¹³ *Social Security Yearbook*, 1939, pp. 175, 176.

¹⁴ Public-assistance payments, 1936-1939, have been compiled from the *Social Security Yearbook*, 1939, p. 178. The information for 1940 has been estimated from the *Social Security Bulletin*, December, 1940, p. 46.

¹⁵ These statistics have been compiled from the *Annual Report of the Social Security Board* (U. S.), 1935-1936, p. 82, 1936-1937, p. 98, 1938-1939, p. 194, 1939-1940, p. 161.

THE IOWA DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

Even before the passage of the Federal Social Security Act, the State of Iowa had undertaken certain welfare activities. As was customary throughout the United States, the townships and the counties of Iowa administered relief, chiefly food, fuel, rent, necessary medical treatment, and institutional care. The State government, however, had assumed some additional programs. The care of the indigent sick at the University Hospital at Iowa City (which began with treatment of sick children at State expense in 1915), the State law that mothers' pensions be granted by the juvenile court judges (although payment is made from county funds), the care of handicapped individuals, and a Child Welfare Station were examples of State welfare activities.

The economic debacle of the nineteen thirties stimulated further State participation in the realm of relief. In January, 1933, Governor Clyde L. Herring named an unofficial State Emergency Relief Committee, with E. H. Mulock as chairman, to carry on negotiations with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for loans for emergency relief in the State. In May, 1933, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was created and this agency continued negotiations with the State Committee, Chairman Mulock being appointed Administrator for Iowa. Early in 1934 the Iowa General Assembly appropriated \$3,000,000 for emergency relief. In July, 1934, the Iowa Emergency Relief Administration was incorporated as a non-profit organization. A year later J. C. Pryor became State Administrator.

At the same time that the question of relief due to unemployment was being discussed, the problem of aid for the needy aged was also under review. As a result, the Forty-fifth General Assembly of Iowa in March, 1934, organized an Old Age Assistance Commission. Needy persons sixty-

five years old or over were to receive State grants. Money for this purpose was to be raised by a head tax of two dollars on each legal resident of Iowa over twenty-one years of age. The statute became effective, as to emergency grants, on November 1, 1934. This Old Age Assistance Commission continued to function and to coöperate with the Federal Board (after its creation in 1935) until 1937.

The State Board of Social Welfare

The expansion of such a State program of relief was, of course, stimulated by the passage of the Federal Social Security Act and the offer of Federal funds. Accordingly, in 1937, the Forty-seventh General Assembly created a State Board of Social Welfare, a part-time board of five members who were to receive a per diem remuneration and expenses. Under its supervision were incorporated the old-age assistance program and a division to administer child-welfare activities and aid to the blind in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Social Security Act. And in line with the developing national policy this State Board was (supposedly) given power to oversee the granting of State emergency relief. A lack of enabling legislation, however, left this function under the direction of the Iowa Emergency Relief Administration for another two years.¹⁶

The growth of Federal-State activities in public assistance administration stimulated a demand for a full-time board rather than a part-time supervisory agency. It was also suggested that the General Assembly authorize the Board to make necessary consolidations so as to coördinate the welfare program in accordance with experience gained during the formative period. In the light of these views the Forty-eighth General Assembly of Iowa in 1939 reorganized the State Board of Social Welfare but left intact the

¹⁶ *Laws of Iowa*, 1937, Ch. 151.

essential features of the welfare statute of the Forty-seventh General Assembly.

By this act the General Assembly created a State Department of Social Welfare which was to comprise all agencies and personnel responsible for State welfare administration. Immediately responsible for the supervision of these activities was a State Board of Social Welfare of three members, one of whom was to be a woman, not more than two of whom were to be from the same political party. The members were to serve full time and to be appointed for six-year terms, one retiring at the end of each biennium. These appointments were to be made by the Governor with the consent of two-thirds of the Senate. The present members of the Board are H. C. Beard of Mt. Ayr, Mary E. Huncke of Des Moines, and King R. Palmer of West Union. The compensation of the Board members is four thousand dollars annually.

According to the statute the functions of the Board were to be as follows: (1) to administer old-age assistance, aid to the blind, aid to dependent children, child welfare, and "any other form of public welfare assistance" placed under its direction; (2) to make such rules and regulations as would provide for the efficient administration of the program; (3) to have the power "to abolish, alter, consolidate or establish divisions" and to "abolish or change offices created in connection therewith"; (4) to hire necessary personnel and fix their compensation; (5) to allocate or reallocate functions of the various divisions; and (6) to publish rules and regulations relative to the employment of welfare investigators.

The Board was directed to make an annual report to the Governor giving "a full account of the operation of the acts under its control". Furthermore the Board was instructed to coöperate with the Federal Social Security

Board or other Federal agencies for public assistance so that Iowa might "in such reasonable manner as may be necessary" qualify for Federal aid. The Board was to supervise the county welfare agencies and was also to furnish such information as would acquaint the public generally with the operation of the program.

The General Assembly also authorized the appointment of a secretary to aid the Board in its work. He serves at the Board's pleasure, performs such duties as it may require, and heads the Division of Business Management. His compensation may not exceed three thousand dollars per year. The statute also authorized the Attorney General to appoint an assistant attorney general to advise the Social Welfare Board on all legal problems. This officer is paid by the Welfare Department.

The State statute imposed certain requirements for employees to be appointed by the Board. For one thing, they must have been residents of the State for two years immediately preceding their employment. The Board was authorized to prepare examinations "covering character, general training, and experience". Qualified persons who passed such examinations were to be classified, in accordance with rules and regulations of the Board, according to fields of work for which they were adapted.

In 1940 a significant development took place with regard to personnel. According to the Federal Social Security Act amendments of 1939, State agencies coöperating in the nationwide program were, after January 1, 1940, to establish rules and regulations for a merit system of personnel selection. The State Department of Social Welfare, the Iowa Unemployment Compensation Commission, and the State Department of Health have, accordingly, established regulations providing for a Merit Council to be appointed by the Governor. Under this program persons desiring posi-

tions with one of the above agencies must qualify by taking and passing competitive examinations. Appointments are to be made upon the basis of merit and without regard for political affiliation. "The merit system provides for the granting of promotions on the basis of efficient work and tends to stabilize the tenure of office of those who give satisfactory service. The rules and regulations apply to all personnel employed under the state and county boards of social welfare. The merit system provides not only for recruitment of qualified personnel but also for maximum utilization of the employees' capabilities".¹⁷

The Forty-eighth General Assembly gave the full-time State Board of Social Welfare complete power over its own administrative organization. It was given authority to consolidate or abolish old divisions and to allocate or re-allocate functions. No mention was made in the law of the divisions created previously. Upon the basis of this grant of power the State Board in 1939 reorganized the administrative structure concerned with public assistance and child welfare.

According to this grant of authority the State Board abolished (effective on July 1, 1939) the Division of Old Age Assistance and the division to which had been assigned aid to the blind and the child-welfare program. The following six divisions were then created: Division of Public Assistance (general relief, old-age assistance, and aid to the blind), Division of Child Welfare, Division of Field Staff, Division of Accounts and Audits, Division of Research and Statistics, and the Division of Business Management. This organization in general follows the plan used by the Federal Social Security Board.

¹⁷ For the legislative basis of the Iowa Department of Social Welfare see the *Laws of Iowa*, 1937, Ch. 151, and 1939, Ch. 84. The reader's attention is also called to *Iowa Public Assistance Laws* as compiled in an *Employee's Manual* by the Iowa Department of Social Welfare.

The advantages of this plan of organization were explained in the 1940 *Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare*: "Under the new organization it is possible to include all similar or closely related functions in the same division and thereby each division is enabled to perform its function efficiently, and no one division is required to take full responsibility for the total operation of any program. As examples of the type of consolidation effected by the new organization, three separate research and statistical units were consolidated in the one new division, and a single section of inquiry and referral was established in the Division of Field Staff to answer all routine inquiries and to conduct all routine interviews concerning the various welfare programs in the State Department. Previously, these functions had been performed by many people acting in various capacities. The new arrangement is both more economical from the standpoint of better use of staff time and also more efficient and satisfactory from the standpoint of the individuals seeking information from the State Department."¹⁸

This decision of the State Board to consolidate several functions within one division apparently does not follow the accepted practice of creating a separate bureau for a specific program. This integration of the Iowa structure was planned in order that future welfare expansion might be handled with a minimum of reorganization.¹⁹

To promote the establishment of a well-integrated program, the State Board has compiled a manual for all State and county employees. The statutes relating to public welfare, the relationship of the various agencies, the merit

¹⁸ *Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare* (Iowa), 1939-1940, pp. 8, 9.

¹⁹ For an analysis of the principles of public welfare administration see Millspaugh's *Public Welfare Organization*.

system rules and regulations, financial policies, and employee duties are organized for ready and accessible use.

County Participation

To aid in the administration of the public-assistance program, the General Assembly in 1937 required each county board of supervisors to appoint a county board of social welfare. In counties of less than thirty-three thousand population this county board of social welfare is a bipartisan board of three members, at least one of whom is to be a woman. Counties having more than thirty-three thousand population appoint a board of five (at least one to be a woman). The members of the county board serve for a one-year term and receive per diem payment of three dollars. One or more of the supervisors may serve on the welfare board, but according to the State law a supervisor is not to receive additional compensation for service on the social welfare board while acting in his elected capacity. The amount paid each member must not exceed ninety dollars per year for the three-member boards or one hundred and twenty dollars for the larger boards.

These county boards of social welfare are to direct the administration of old-age assistance and aid to the blind and to administer general relief in any county in which State funds are received for relief. Their specific functions are prescribed by State statute. In counties not receiving State grants, general relief is largely in the hands of the supervisors unless this function is delegated by the supervisors to the welfare board.

Necessary personnel for aiding the county in carrying out the welfare program is authorized by the General Assembly. Each county board of social welfare must appoint a county director of social welfare (subject to the approval of the State Board) and such other personnel as may be

necessary. These employees are selected upon the basis of fitness "with due regard to experience and training, but graduation from college shall not be made a prerequisite of any such appointment." The compensation of these employees is to be fixed by the county board of social welfare subject to the approval of county board of supervisors and the State Board. Such employees are usually paid in accordance with the function they perform. If acting for the State, they are to be paid out of State funds; if acting for the county they are to be paid out of local funds.²⁰

The administration of the public-assistance program in Iowa counties under the State law presents some variation. In thirty-nine counties (as of June, 1940) the county board of social welfare was responsible for the four programs administered under the Department of Social Welfare. These counties centralized local responsibility for old-age assistance, aid to the blind, child welfare, and general relief in the hands of the county welfare boards, with a director of social welfare in charge of the entire welfare program.

The remaining Iowa counties maintain a program which lacks something of this centralization. A typical pattern is to have the county welfare board responsible for old-age assistance and aid to the blind under a separate director of social welfare, while child-welfare programs are undertaken by the State workers upon request of the county board of supervisors which usually pays certain expenses. Relief is in the hands of the board of supervisors with a county overseer of the poor in charge.

There is a marked tendency for counties to adopt the centralized form of welfare work so long as the State furnishes grants in aid for general relief and at the end of the fiscal year 1939-1940 thirty-nine counties had an integrated

²⁰ *Laws of Iowa*, 1937, Ch. 151.

administration. As the amount of State aid decreases, however, county boards of supervisors tend to reassume their control over the administration of general relief.²¹

THE PUBLIC-WELFARE PROGRAM IN IOWA

The Iowa State Department of Social Welfare has been made primarily responsible for the supervision of old-age assistance, aid to the blind, child welfare, and emergency relief. The first three programs have been developed under the guidance of the Federal Social Security Board. Each in itself presents a distinct approach to the question of public welfare. Emergency relief is the term used to designate the State's participation in relief work in certain counties.

Old-Age Assistance

The Iowa statute provides that needy aged persons shall receive financial aid from the State. To qualify for old-age assistance an individual must meet the following requirements: (1) have a residence in Iowa; (2) have attained the age of sixty-five years; (3) be a citizen of the United States or have been a continuous resident of the United States for at least twenty-five years; (4) have a domicile in the State nine years preceding the application for aid or have residence five out of the nine, one out of the five being continuous and immediately before the application; (5) be not at the date of application an inmate of any prison, jail, insane asylum, or any public reform or correctional institution; (6) have no relative, association, or municipality capable of his support; (7) be unable to earn regularly an income of at least three hundred dollars annually; and (8) be not in need of institutional care.

²¹ *Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare* (Iowa), 1939-1940, p. 13.

The amount of assistance for the aged under the statute is to be fixed "with due regard to the condition of the individual, household situation and community". In general the amount is not to exceed twenty-five dollars per month although in some cases an additional sum up to five dollars may be granted to persons requiring chronic medical care. One-half of this assistance is contributed from Federal funds.

The procedure for investigating applications for assistance is outlined by the State statute. After receiving an application, the county board of welfare is required to investigate the case. This investigation is usually made by a case worker or special old-age assistance investigator. The county board then considers the case and makes its recommendation to the State Board. Within sixty days the State Board is to make any further investigation that may be deemed necessary and either approve or disapprove the county board's recommendation. In case an applicant is dissatisfied with the findings of the State or local agency he may ask for a hearing, usually held before a member of the State Board. If denied assistance after such a review of his case, the applicant may appeal the decision to the district court.

A certificate of assistance is granted to the applicant for a two-year period. Before assistance is granted, the State requires that the applicant sign a lien on any real property he owns. At the death of the recipient, the State is reimbursed as far as possible from the sale of this property, but any residue reverts to the estate of the recipient. Taxes are suspended on such property, but at the death of the owner they are collectible from the estate after the old-age assistance claim is paid. The State Board is also authorized to assume the payment of insurance premiums if such obligations are to the advantage of the applicant and to

the State. If there are no other resources the State may provide burial expenses up to \$100 for the recipients of assistance.²²

For the biennium ending on June 30, 1941, the General Assembly allocated seven million dollars annually for the use of the State Board in the administration and payment of old-age assistance. And in accordance with the expanding program of the Federal Social Security Board which raised the maximum to forty dollars a month, the Forty-ninth General Assembly has appropriated eight and a half million dollars for this purpose for each year of the 1941-1943 biennium.

Since the establishment of the social security program the Federal Social Security Board has allocated the following amounts as grants for Iowa's old-age assistance program: 1935-1936, \$1,233,225; 1936-1937, \$2,872,157; 1937-1938, \$4,966,153; 1938-1939, \$6,750,537; 1939-1940, \$6,228,472. These amounts are based upon checks cashed and returned to the Federal Treasury Department.²³

In February, 1936, 23,000 persons were receiving old-age assistance in Iowa; by June, 1940, the number had increased to more than 55,000. The number for 1939-1940 was at the ratio of 252 persons receiving aid out of each 1000 persons sixty-five years of age or over — approximately one-fourth of all persons in Iowa in that age group. The average monthly payment in Iowa for the year 1939-1940 was \$20.93.²⁴ The number of persons in the county homes, however, has not appreciably decreased.

The State of Iowa and the United States share equally in the old-age assistance program. In that Iowa finances

²² *Code of 1939*, Ch. 189.1.

²³ These statistics have been compiled from the *Annual Reports of the Social Security Board*.

²⁴ *Annual Report of the Social Security Board* (U. S.), 1939-1940, pp. 194, 197.

the program without calling upon local governments for financial assistance, its program is typical of the procedures used throughout the United States. "Twenty-six States assume responsibility for the total cost of assistance not borne by the Federal Government; in 13 the State contribution is larger than that of the local political unit; in 8 there is equal sharing; and in only 1 (Kansas) does the county pay more toward the cost of assistance than the State."²⁵ This comparison of States was valid as of the beginning of 1940.

Aid to the Blind

Iowa's program for aid to the blind is in its essentials based upon the provisions of the Federal Social Security Act. The Forty-seventh General Assembly outlined the basic principles which the Board of Social Welfare follows in the administration of its program of aid for the needy blind. In 1939 the function of aid to the blind along with old-age assistance was placed in the Division of Public Assistance under the direction of the State Board.

To qualify for assistance as a blind person, an applicant must be blind or have vision so defective that he can not carry on his normal activities. He must also meet the following requirements: (1) be eighteen years of age or over; (2) be a citizen of the United States or have made application for citizenship; (3) be a resident of Iowa five years out of nine immediately preceding application (however, if a person became blind while a resident of the State, or was blind at time of passage of the act, he is able to qualify); (4) not be an inmate of a public institution; (5) not be soliciting alms; (6) not be receiving old-age assistance; (7) not have transferred property in order to be eligible for assistance; and (8) not have sufficient income or resources

²⁵ *Social Security Yearbook*, 1939, p. 156.

to provide a reasonable subsistence consistent with decency and health.

The amount of assistance granted is to be based upon each individual case and was originally not to exceed thirty dollars per month. However, if the Federal participation were increased beyond fifteen dollars monthly, the State amount was to increase proportionately so as to guarantee full participation by the State. The 1939 amendment to the Federal Social Security Act provided for the participation of the national government in aid amounting to forty dollars per month. The amount of the Iowa grant has been increased accordingly.

The State Board is responsible for the rules and regulations necessary for a fair and impartial administration of the program. County boards of social welfare are in immediate charge of the activities and are to prepare a budget setting forth the amount of money necessary for the granting of aid in the county. The procedure for the granting of assistance is also prescribed by law. The county welfare board is to investigate applications and require an examination by an ophthalmologist.

Upon such findings the county welfare board is to report its recommendations to the State Board which either grants or denies the assistance. If denied by either the county board or the State Board, the applicant is entitled to a fair hearing of his case before a representative of the State Board in the county of his residence and ultimate appeal may be made to the district court. The Board is required to provide for periodic reconsideration of each case and if necessary it may provide for guardianship or for additional sums of money for treatment. The amount of assistance granted is considered as a lien against the estate of a person so receiving help, but enforcement of this lien is optional with State and local authorities. The

State Board is also authorized to assume responsibility with regard to insurance policies held by the applicant for assistance.

The county is to pay one-fourth of the amounts granted and one-fourth of the administrative expenses. The State pays one-fourth and the Federal government pays one-half.²⁶ This procedure of financing the program as of the beginning of 1940 compares with other States as follows: "Twenty-three States assume responsibility for the total cost of assistance not borne by the Federal Government; in seven the State contribution exceeds that of the local unit; in six there is equal sharing; in three (Kansas, Maryland, and Ohio) the local share is larger; and in one (New Jersey) the use of State funds for assistance is limited to persons without county residence."²⁷

For the biennium ending on June 30, 1941, the General Assembly of Iowa appropriated an annual sum of \$140,000 for aid to the blind. The Federal Social Security Board approved grants to Iowa totalling \$166,944.65 in 1938-1939, and \$209,459.77 in 1939-1940.²⁸ In July, 1939, there were 1402 cases in Iowa receiving assistance and in June, 1940, there were 1478 cases.²⁹ These cases averaged for 1939-1940 a total of 57 persons per 100,000 population. The 1939-1940 average payment for the blind in Iowa amounted to \$24.02 per month while the median for the United States was \$21.64.³⁰

²⁶ *Laws of Iowa*, 1937, Ch. 151.

²⁷ *Social Security Yearbook*, 1939, p. 156.

²⁸ *Annual Report of the Social Security Board* (U. S.), 1938-1939, p. 195, 1939-1940, p. 163.

²⁹ *Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare* (Iowa), 1939-1940, p. 36.

³⁰ *Annual Report of the Social Security Board* (U. S.), 1939-1940, pp. 194, 197.

The Child-Welfare Program

The Iowa General Assembly in 1937 assigned to the Department of Social Welfare the activities for the promotion of child welfare (outside of institutional care) which had previously been exercised by the Board of Control. These functions, after the reorganization act of 1939, were placed in a Division of Child Welfare under the supervision of the State Board. The Board is to coöperate with the Children's Bureau "in planning, establishing, extending and strengthening public and private welfare services within the state". It is to apply for such Federal funds as may be allotted to the State and at the same time report to the Governor estimates for the adequate participation of the State in the program. And as an aid in enforcement of all child-welfare laws the State Board is to coöperate with county agencies, juvenile courts, and institutions concerned with the problem of child care.

Specifically, the State Board of Social Welfare is to perform such activities as may be required by the Federal agency for coöperation under the Federal Social Security Act. The Board is to make all rules and regulations necessary for the supervision of child-caring agencies and officers. The supervision and inspection of private institutions for the care of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children is a function of the Board, which is also authorized to designate and supervise private institutions to which children may be committed, to supervise children committed to such institutions, to keep records of findings of the juvenile courts, to keep a record of adoptions, and to license maternity hospitals, private boarding homes for children, and private child-placing agencies.³¹

The Board of Social Welfare operating under these provisions has developed a definite program for the promotion

³¹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1937, Ch. 151, 1939, Ch. 84.

of child welfare. A review of the activities of the Board for one year will reveal a typical pattern of activities undertaken for the promotion of child welfare.

During the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1940, the Board reported that fifteen demonstration units were operating in seventeen counties. These counties were either predominantly rural or were counties of special need. In these areas child-welfare workers were investigating the problems involving children and attempting to apply remedies. Out of 998 cases studied, maladjustment was reported to be due to poverty or bad home conditions in 380, to "broken homes" in 303, and to other problems in 315.³²

Another service rendered by the Division of Child Welfare was consultation service in cases involving child-welfare problems. During the year 1939-1940 the Division gave intensive study and advice in 433 cases involving children. Usually some other agency had the problem in charge but the child-welfare workers furnished by the Board actively participated "in the development of a plan for the children and in devising methods of carrying out the plan." Among its licensing and supervisory activities, the Board licensed 218 boarding homes for children during 1939-1940. This number increased by 101 during the year. This increase was no doubt stimulated by the welfare workers themselves because the "boarding home, in many cases, is better suited for the care of an individual child than is an institution because conditions in the boarding home approximate conditions in a normal home."³³

On January 1, 1939, thirty child-placing agencies and child-caring agencies were licensed by the Board. These

³² *Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare* (Iowa), 1939-1940, p. 21.

³³ The number and location of these boarding homes by counties may be found in the *Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare* (Iowa), 1939-1940, p. 16.

agencies were caring for 1422 children. At all times the services of the staff maintained by the State Board have been made available to these institutions. They are also under strict supervision because the Child Welfare Division requires periodic reports upon their activities.³⁴ Nine maternity homes were licensed for the year 1939.

The Division of Child Welfare also offers a psychological service to various agencies or institutions. During the year ending June, 1940, 2027 psychological tests were made and 840 interviews were conducted. This activity has been undertaken by the Board to study particular problems involved in a child's personal adjustment.³⁵

The Board is also responsible for the keeping of records relative to juvenile delinquency, adoption, and other special problems involving children. The Board is expected to study these records as a means of proposing ways of child care and suggesting possible future reforms.

For the biennium ending on June 30, 1940, the General Assembly of Iowa appropriated the sum of \$75,000 annually for child-welfare work. In addition the Children's Bureau of the Federal Department of Labor in the fiscal year 1939-1940 granted to Iowa the sum of \$25,887.25. Previous grants by the Children's Bureau had totalled \$49,107.46 in 1938-1939, \$32,626.54 in 1937-1938, \$23,293.86 in 1936-1937, and \$8,500 in 1935-1936. (The Children's Bureau allocates about \$37,000 a year to Iowa for this purpose.) It is to be noted that these sums do not include other grants made to Iowa in the form of assistance for crippled children, maternal and child-health programs, and public-health work.³⁶

³⁴ The name and location of these licensed institutions may be found in the *Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare* (Iowa), 1939-1940, p. 23.

³⁵ *Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare* (Iowa), 1939-1940, p. 15.

³⁶ The appropriations made by the Forty-eighth General Assembly of Iowa

As a basis for comparing the Iowa program with the situation in the United States, the total grants to all the States made by the Children's Bureau may be of interest. These were: in 1935-1936, \$625,000; in 1936-1937, \$1,200,000; in 1937-1938, \$1,475,000; in 1938-1939, \$1,500,000; in 1939-1940, \$1,505,000.³⁷ One deduces from these statistics that the child-welfare program has passed through its period of expansion and growth and is becoming stabilized in a permanent program.

General Relief

The participation of the Board of Social Welfare in the general relief program involves chiefly giving grants in aid to the counties unable to carry on their relief program unaided. To finance this assistance, the General Assembly appropriated \$1,250,000 for relief for each year of the 1939-1941 biennium. The State Board also gathers statistics on the cost and the size of the relief problem in the various counties and gives advice upon special problems when so requested by the county boards.

As outlined by the Forty-eighth General Assembly the State Board of Social Welfare is also to perform the following relief functions: (1) appoint necessary personnel and make adequate provision for the administration of the program; (2) coöperate with the United States in any appropriate relief activity; (3) make budgetary reports necessary for the securing of adequate relief funds; (4) determine the relief need of various counties; and (5) make such reports as may from time to time be required.

The county boards of social welfare are to coöperate may be found in the *Budget Report*, 1941, (recommendations for the biennium beginning July 1, 1941, and ending June 30, 1943).

³⁷ These statistics have been compiled from the *Annual Report of the Social Security Board* (U. S.), 1935-1936, p. 82, 1936-1937, p. 98, 1938-1939, p. 194, 1939-1940, p. 161.

with the county boards of supervisors in the administration of local relief. They are, upon request of the boards of supervisors, to prepare requests for grants of State funds if county tax funds are inadequate and the debt limitation prevents the issuance of bonds. In counties receiving State funds the county boards of social welfare administer both State and county relief funds and in other counties may administer relief when so directed by the board of supervisors. The board of supervisors determines whether the county shall request State funds for general relief. If deemed advisable the board of supervisors may require that work be performed by employables upon their relief rolls. If the State Board makes grants to the counties for relief, the counties are to meet budget requirements. And transfers and expenditures from the county poor fund must be as prescribed by law.³⁸

During the fiscal year 1939-1940 thirty-one Iowa counties received State aid in the administration of their relief programs. At the same time there was an average of 31,535 cases receiving general relief, including both subsistence and medical items. All items of relief paid by the counties entailed an expenditure of \$8,446,244 for the year, with general relief accounting for \$6,251,316 of the sum. Of the general relief expenditure 61.6 per cent went for food, 6.7 per cent went for shelter, 3 per cent for clothing, 8.1 per cent for fuel, 15.1 per cent for medical care, and 5.5 per cent for all other assistance.

The county relief organizations are also concerned with service activities connected with such Federal programs as the Work Projects Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the Surplus Commodities Corporation. On a Statewide basis the welfare agencies handled 29,936 service cases in July, 1939, and 23,608 cases in September, 1939.

³⁸ *Laws of Iowa*, 1937, Ch. 151, 1939, Ch. 84.

The local agencies certified 2999 Iowa boys for C. C. C. work in the year 1939-1940. And the county agencies helped distribute to relief clients nearly 11,500 tons of foodstuffs supplied by the Surplus Commodities Corporation in the Surplus Marketing Administration. In Polk, Woodbury, Linn, Scott, and Pottawattamie counties the local agencies helped administer the food stamp plan for the distribution of surplus commodities in addition to relief. Thus, the local boards of social welfare have been concerned with the many allied programs for the administration of relief.³⁹

Administrative costs of local assistance work are divided between State and local agencies upon the basis of time given by workers and investigators to various categories.

Conclusion

The State Board of Social Welfare thus functions in a dual position; it coöperates with and is supervised by the Federal agencies responsible for the administration of the Social Security Act and at the same time it coöperates with and supervises the county agencies in the functioning of the public-assistance program.

The welfare program includes more than those functions assigned to the State Social Welfare Board. Welfare activities such as the Work Projects Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, and Old-Age and Survivors Insurance are under the direction of the Federal government. Unemployment insurance in Iowa is administered by the Unemployment Compensation Commission. The Department of Social Welfare is responsible only for general relief paid by the State, aid to the aged and the blind, and for child-welfare

³⁹ For a compilation of the relief activities of the Iowa State Board of Social Welfare see the *Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare* (Iowa), 1939-1940, pp. 96-124.

services. The local governments administer general relief with the necessary State financial help and may assume other welfare activities. This program based upon broad legislative sanction and administrative experience seems flexible enough to meet new situations and circumstances with a minimum of reorganization.

Although interest during the past decade has been generally focused on Federal and State relief programs, it must be remembered that county officials still retain most of their powers over the administration of local relief funds.

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STARTING LIFE IN WARREN COUNTY

[William Porter Nutting* was born in Leverett, Massachusetts, on August 4, 1847, and died in Milo, Iowa, on April 16, 1933. When he was six years old his father and step-mother, David Hervey, and Mary M., Nutting, brought him and his brother Frank to Cincinnati, Ohio. A year later they moved on to Lexington, Missouri, and the following year came to Warren County, Iowa, in a covered wagon drawn by two yoke of oxen.

William attended Simpson College at Indianola in the original building known as the "Blue Bird" and then spent several years teaching in the schools of Warren County. On July 9, 1873, he married Catherine McLennan of Lacona and of this marriage were born eight children — Herbert W., Ansel E., Nellie A., D. Ray, John G., Myrtle M., Mary L., and another son who died in infancy.

In 1875 the Nuttings located on a farm south of Milo where they lived until 1915 when they retired from the farm and moved to Milo.

Mr. Nutting united with the Presbyterian Church at Indianola in early manhood and later was a member of the United Presbyterian Church and the Presbyterian Church of Milo, where he served as elder and taught a Sunday School class for almost fifty years. After the Presbyterian Church disbanded he became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Milo.

The following reminiscence was written in 1924.]

I was born in a little house in the town of Leverett in

*The autobiographical sketch prepared by Mr. Nutting was submitted for publication by his daughter, Mary L. Nutting, who also contributed the introduction.—THE EDITOR.

northern Massachusetts, not far from the Connecticut River and west from Boston. My mother died when I was about three and one-half years old, and my brother, Frank, one and one-half years old. My earliest recollections begin at that time. I remember seeing her carried along the road to the cemetery, which was not more than a quarter of a mile, I should judge, from where we lived.

Our little home was not more than three hundred yards from Grandfather Porter Nutting's house. I remember running away to grandfather's house, for there I was sure to get a good dinner, for my grandfather petted me a great deal. Also, my grandmother (who was a step-grandmother) indulged me for she had never had any children of her own. I remember one day she was going to have an extra dinner, chicken pie, but she scorched it, and was greatly put out about it.

The town of Leverett at that time was made up mostly of Nuttings, Pitts, and Fields and these families were nearly all related. When my wife and I were back there in 1904, the Fields were the only ones left. There were still two families of them. From Carrie Field we learned where my mother's grave was in the cemetery and from the other family we obtained an oil painting of mother. We were also shown the house of Aunt Polly Moore, father's sister, into whose home Frank and I were taken when our mother died. When I was about five or six, we spent some time with Aunt Ann Childs, another of father's sisters.

After father married Mary M. Pitts we lived in the same house we had before, the one from which I used to run away to Grandfather Nutting's. On this trip we saw grandfather's house and I could remember something about it. It was a very old house, they said about 200 years old, and near it was a large butternut tree, three or four feet across the stump, which I also remembered. We ate our dinner

near this tree, at least fifty years from the time I had seen it as a boy. I also remember eating huckleberries and blueberries from the hills, and Anna Temple went out with us to gather some when we were back.

Leverett and Brimfield were both settled about 1650 by two families of Nuttings who came from England. Leverett had at one time been a manufacturing town; when we were there we stood on the foot bridge across the stream which ran right through the town and counted seven big rock dams where at one time had been different kinds of mills. When the railroad was built, it missed the town and these mills had been taken away.

Father's trade was iron-moulding and he continued this work even after we moved west. When we left Leverett he went to work in Greenfield, a town near the Connecticut River. We visited this town two or three times with Augustus Temple when we were back. The thing that I remember in connection with this town was a sleigh ride on a very cold night from Greenfield to Leverett, to visit Grandfather Pitts. Frank and I were covered up with a buffalo robe in the bottom of the sleigh. I also remember living in Orange, another place where father worked at his trade, and when we were back we were shown the house where I had lived. I also remember being in Springfield one Fourth of July and seeing the fireworks at night. The thing I remember about living in Northampton was seeing an animal show there. In it was a man, driving around the ring with two ostriches hitched to a chariot. This was the last place we lived before coming west. We didn't get to visit this town when we were back. It is said to be a very fine city — now the home of Calvin Coolidge.

How did father happen to come west? (Sometimes I think things do not happen but are wrought out.) He went into a company with a man by the name of McDoo, in the

iron business, and I think the other man was an iron moulder as well as himself. This was along about 1852 or 1853 and times were very hard. Business was at a standstill and they could not sell their products such as car wheels, stove castings, etc., after making them. So their firm broke up, at least father lost about all he had. He then made up his mind he would go west to make another start. So everything we had was packed up ready for the move.

Father had saved a little to move with. There were not many railroads then, as railroading was just in its infancy. We started for Cincinnati, Ohio. I remember crossing Lake Erie from Buffalo, New York, to Cleveland, Ohio, by boat after night and meeting another boat, all lighted up, which had a brass band playing. As they played out in the water it sounded most beautiful. We then took the cars to Cincinnati where we rented a little house just out of the suburbs of the city. This place was called Industry but it was not rightly named by any means. Father worked up in the city at his trade, about twelve miles from where we were and came home each Saturday night.

Industry had three modes of traffic. It was only about two hundred yards from the Ohio River and many steamboats were going by daily. Then between the town and the river was the canal with the canal boats plying to the city. The third mode was the railroad.

Our house stood on a little bluff and at the back faced the canal. Just opposite our house and across the canal was a saloon. By going out in the back yard we could see about all that was going on in the saloon. I saw so much that I never wanted to see a saloon afterward. Rainy days and Sundays were the worst. One could see men and women so drunk they would lock arms and try to walk through the mud, then all would fall and wallow in the

mud like so many pigs. Some would climb up on the roof of a canal boat and roll off into the muddy water.

But we did not live in Industry very long, for father could not get steady work in the city. They would lay him off part of each week and times were so hard that manufacturing was at a standstill. So we moved about half way into the city and took part of a house with another family whom father had known in the East. Their name was King and it was a very beautiful place, right on the bank of the river, with all kinds of fruit trees about it. It was while we were living there that father came to look at Iowa land. I never knew just why he came to Iowa instead of stopping off in Illinois unless it was because land was cheaper in Iowa. That was about the year 1854 and he rode by stage, I think, from Burlington to Des Moines as there were no railroads then in Iowa. He bought or rather entered 160 acres costing \$1.50 or \$2.00 per acre.

He then went back to St. Louis, Missouri, where he heard that he could get work in the foundry. But he did not work long until they laid him off part time, as they had in Cincinnati. Then he moved on to Lexington, Missouri, where he heard he could get steady work. While in Lexington he sent word for us to box up our goods and come there. Travel then was largely by boat. We packed up and started from Cincinnati by boat down the Ohio River to the Mississippi and thence to St. Louis. There we changed boats for Lexington as there was a smaller boat on the Missouri River. We were fourteen days going from Cincinnati to Lexington.

A boat on the river is a very nice thing to ride on if you are not in a hurry. The dining room on the boat we were on was very nice — everything you could think of on the table even to nuts and candy. What made us so long? Well, a river boat did not go very fast in those days. We were

traveling in midsummer, the river was very low, and the boat had to travel in the main channel. Then in large rivers there were what were called sawyers — that is, large trees that had caved off the bank and lodged in the channel. When the water got low they played up and down in the current and the pilot had to be very careful not to let the boat strike them as it would make a hole in the boat. Sometimes the boats would go so slowly they hardly moved to miss the see-sawing monsters in the water. There were also sand bars, not deep enough down in the water to let the boat pass over and it would get stuck. Then the deck hands, mostly negroes, would get down in the water with their jack-screws and lift the boat. The pilot would then try to pull off and you would think the boat was coming to pieces.

We landed in Lexington late in the summer of 1854. I did not pass a very pleasant winter as I had gotten what the doctor called river flux, and I did not get over it until the next spring and hardly then for it affected me at times after we came to Iowa. The doctor would not let me drink cold water unless it was medicated. I never wanted anything so bad as a good drink of cold untreated water.

The summer of 1855 was exciting in Lexington. It was a town where they owned plenty of slaves and mules. There was an auction block on which the slaves were sold just like horses and cattle. Then there was to be an election as to whether Kansas was to become a free State or a slave State. It had been a Territory before this (five years before the Civil War). But the excitement in Lexington was almost to the war pitch then. I do not think voters had to be but a few days in the State to become voters there, and each side was seeing which could get the most voters into Kansas before the election.

The Abolitionists, as those against slavery were called,

hardly dared let their sentiments be known for many of the slave-owners in Lexington carried revolvers and some knives and it was not safe to say anything against slavery. The North was sending boat loads of men up the river and the slave-owners threatened to shoot them if they landed in Lexington. But some did stop and gave out the word they were ready for them. Then the slave-owners would disappear. There was a story about how they tried to prevent the Northern men from landing in Kansas. They had a cow tied on the Kansas side of the river, and when the Northern men came up the river they would ask them what the animal was, and if they said *cow* they would let them across, thinking they would vote for Kansas to become a slave State. But if they said *caow* they would try to prevent them from entering the Territory, knowing they were from the New England States and were sure to vote for Kansas to become a free State.

It was a fact that in those days you could almost invariably tell what part of the United States one was from by the brogue. For instance, I happened to be standing by father one day after we had been in Iowa three or four years when E. J. Ingersoll, later the president of the Hawkeye Insurance Company of Des Moines, asked father if he were not a New England man. Father asked him what made him think so. "Well", he said, "when you say *what*, the sound goes a good deal like this slough, the farther it goes the broader it gets."

When father saw that the slavery question was getting to the war pitch in Missouri, he made up his mind to come to his Iowa land. How to get there was the question. There were no railroads. No river. So he walked across the prairie. I do not think he hired a horse as he did not want to be bothered with a horse. There were very few fields. Just a track across the prairie. He came across to take

another look at the land and the neighborhood. While here he bought a team of not very large oxen and a large wagon from one of the neighbors by the name of Graham, who lived south of the bridge on Otter Creek due west of Milo, Iowa. That was the last of July, 1855.

Our departure from Lexington was about the first of August. When father got back with the ox team we loaded everything we had on that one wagon and covered it with a sheet. There were chairs and carpets tied on top for there was no room inside. It was rather a top heavy load. It was about the middle of the afternoon of a hot day in August when we were loaded ready to start. Since Lexington is right on the bank of the river we drove on the ferry boat with our team and also a cow and calf we had been keeping in town. Those were days before bridges, and streams were crossed by fording or by ferry boat. When we drove off the boat the cow and calf took a bee line up the river beach. The river was low, as the season was dry, and had dropped its main channel. This left a beach of about seventy-five or one hundred yards in width from the main bank to the channel.

When the cow and calf ran away, father drove the team up to the main bank and gave mother the ox whip which had a stock seven or eight feet long and a lash about ten feet long. This was used with both hands and the team was driven without lines. He told mother to watch the team while he went after the cow and calf. While he was gone a man came from the boat, which was still standing where we landed, and came up to where mother was watching the team. She barely knew him, but knew what kind of a character he was — an old drunken sot. Mother told him not to come any closer or she would take the butt end of the whip stock to him. But he stood there until father came back with the cow and calf. Father asked him what he

wanted. The man swore it was none of his business and at the same time drew out his bowie knife from his hip pocket and slashed it back and forth just missing father's throat.

Father kept backing away from him until he could put his hand behind him on the wagon and passed it along until he got hold of the ax he knew he had placed in the wagon to split wood with when we camped. He pulled it out quickly and, raising it over the old renegade, told him if he did not put that knife up immediately there would be one less Missourian. He put it up very quickly. Father then told him to run to the boat and he ran. The boat crew shouted and waved their hands in the air to see the old scamp run.

We moved on and put some distance between us and the river before night. We camped right out on the open prairie. We would take the two yoke of oxen off from the wagon but not unyoke them and turn them loose on the prairie grass. There was no room in the wagon so we would lift up the tongue of the wagon, put a forked stick under the end, throw a carpet over the tongue and another on the ground. That was our tent. It was my first experience camping. But all did not go so well the first night. Father had bought a bell and had put it on one of the oxen when he turned them loose on the prairie that night. Mother told him she was afraid they would get away from us but father replied that if they started to move away he would hear the bell. But he was so tired from his trip from Iowa and loading up that he slept very soundly, and no one heard the bell.

Sure enough when we wakened the next morning there was no team within sight or hearing. Father started hunting right away but after two or three hours came back without them, ate his breakfast, and started out again, this time going to every herd of cattle he could see. But in the

middle of the afternoon he again came back, ate a bite, then went up to the nearest house to hire a horse to hunt them. The man said he had no horse for hire but would lend him one to use until he found his oxen.

But while he was gone with the horse and while we were trying to keep in the shade of the wagon on that hot August afternoon, a man came along on horseback and asked mother if we had lost our team. Mother told him we had. He said he had seen a team ten or twelve miles away going north on the Iowa road. When father came back about sundown we told him. He started right out for them with the borrowed horse and found them not far from where the man had seen them. But before he got back with them and started again, part of the next day was gone. After that experience father staked out the oxen at night by tying ropes to them.

Our next experience was with the horses and cattle running loose on the prairie. After night they would come nosing around the white-covered wagon and cause trouble with our staked-out oxen. Father would get up and run them off but they would come right back. I remember one night he told mother to get him a sheet. He put it over his shoulders and ran among them flapping it with his arms. Such a running and rattling of bells you never heard — for there were several bells in the herd.

Often we would get stalled, as our oxen were not very large and we had such a heavy load, for all our belongings were on the one wagon. I remember that when we crossed the Grand River in Missouri, we had to ford it because there were no bridges. It was in August. The river was low, the water coming only about to the axle of the wagon. We had got almost across. The lead oxen were almost out of the water, but the wagon was settling in the quicksand and the team could pull it no farther. We were all in the

wagon of course. Father had to jump out in the water, which was a little more than knee deep, and go to a house that was in sight, where he borrowed another yoke of oxen and put them on the lead, making three yoke on the wagon, which they then pulled out of the river.

Another day the team came very near upsetting our whole load of stuff. The weather was so hot and dry that the oxen would get nearly crazed for water and traveling along the dusty road made them worse and cattle can smell water long before they get to it. As we were coming to a stream skirted with timber, the oxen commenced smelling the water in the stream and left the road on the run going down through the timber with the top-heavy load swaying from side to side. But finally the long hubs on the wagon caught between two trees and stopped the run-aways. None of us was in the wagon at the time. As soon as father unfastened the oxen from the wagon, they ran as fast as they could and jumped into the stream.

One day when we were getting very thirsty ourselves we passed along by the side of a cabin with a low rail fence around it and a well that had a sweep to it to draw the water. (A sweep is a long pole put up on a forked post with a weight on one end and the rope and well bucket at the other.) We stopped our team to ask for water. But just as father was stepping over the rail fence, a blood-hound jumped from behind the house and made a rush for his throat. As the dog reared up father grabbed him by the fore legs and at the same time gave him a tremendous kick in the short ribs with his heavy cow-hide boot. The dog dropped over as though he were dead. Father had knocked the breath out of him but the man of the cabin had come out by this time and commenced to swear and was ready to fight. So we drove on without getting a drink until we got to the next house.

Another experience happened one night as we were fixing camp. When we had spread our carpets on the prairie grass and spread some over the wagon tongue as I have described before, we heard a rattling noise. Father said it was a rattlesnake, but it was dark and we could not see him. We fastened a yoke of oxen on the wagon and moved on to another place.

We were several days on the road and got very tired and so did the team. We had a very unhandy way of cooking our meals — just a few sticks picked up on the road to make our fire and only a skillet and one or two other vessels in which to cook. I shall never forget the last day on the road. We came from just a little this side of Osceola that day and were anxious not to have to camp any more. So we traveled until after dark to get to the cabin father had told us about, which was to be our home. We could not see what it looked like after dark as we had only a lantern as our main light and that a tin one with holes punched in it for the light of a tallow candle to come out. (And I might mention right here that when father set it down in the prairie grass one night while he was unyoking the oxen and wandered away from it, he had trouble finding it again.)

We were glad to get in our new home and not have to camp on the prairie any more. We took possession of the house and by the light of the lantern described, took our carpets and quilts inside, made our beds and lay down for the night without any supper except a bit we ate on the road.

What did we see the next morning? A log cabin about eighteen feet square with a puncheon floor. That is, logs hewed on one side and notched on the under side to fit the cross poles. It was not tight by any means. There were cracks in it. When Brother Frank and I rolled over in the

morning, Frank said, "Look down this crack. If there is not a hen's nest under the floor." It had been left there by the family who moved out (not much of a find for eggs were not worth more than five or six cents a dozen).

The walls of this house were made out of all kinds of logs — oak, hickory, linn (linden), buckeye, etc. The surface of some of those soft wood logs looked like a menagerie for all kind of pictures had been made on them with charcoal by those who had lived there before.

The roof was made of ridge poles laid across and then covered with clapboards. These clapboards were split out of oak logs about three-fourths of an inch thick and nearly three feet long and sometimes held in place by poles, but generally nailed with square nails about number ten. These boards would warp and twist with the rain and snow and when the blizzards came in the winter, the snow would sift through the cracks and come down through the loft right on our heads. The loft was made of loose boards laid on hewed poles at the top of the square. Frank and I would go up and sweep the snow into buckets and hand them down to father through the scuttle hole or else it would melt and come down all over the house.

All cabins had a fireplace. Ours was made of stone part way up and then of notched logs and sods from the prairie on the inside. Sometimes the smoke would go up the chimney and sometimes come down, depending on the wind. There was just one door in that house and two small windows, a log or two cut out. All cracks in between the logs were filled with mud for lime was hard to get, but some people did make lime from the lime rock.

Father did not like the looks of our chimney, nor did he think it was safe enough to pass through our first winter. So he took the ox team to the timber, dug out rocks, and made a new one. I remember one afternoon while we were

digging we saw dense smoke coming from the southwest (that was the prevailing way the wind came from). It was in the fall of the year and father said we had better go and plow out a fire land to save our house and the rails we had around a little patch of ground; that is, plow a few furrows around on each side of a strip of land forty or fifty feet wide. Then burn out the land between. This would make it safe from the great prairie fire. This had to be done before the fire came for I have seen the fire go almost as fast as a horse could run. To see a prairie fire after night was one of the greatest of sights; the whole prairie would be a burning mass.

Sometimes when the prairies escaped being burnt off in the fall they would get burned over in the spring, after the prairie hens had commenced laying their eggs in the prairie grass (for they would commence early in the spring). To see the prairie chickens by the hundreds, their nests burned over, and the eggs partly baked, made another great sight for me. Another fine sight was when the prairie grass would start up in the spring of the year. After the dry grass was burned off, the green grass was a solid mass interspersed with wild flowers of every kind in full bloom from June to the last of August. No artificial park or flower garden compares with it either in size or grandeur. That was before the grass and flowers were tramped out by the stock.

Farming was done on a very small scale in those days. The first year or two we had only a few acres under cultivation. The prairie was hard to plow the first time, the sod being so tough. We plowed with two yoke of oxen and a small sod plow only thirteen or fourteen inches wide. We had only about twenty-five acres the first year but hardly any weeds. Planting corn was all done by hand. First we marked out the ground crossways, if we wanted

it rowed both ways. This was mostly done with a horse and single shovel plow at first, but later, when we got wiser, with a three-wheel marker and team. The marker had a seat for the driver to ride on and side markers to drive by. The planting was done with a horse and single shovel plow. One man to make the furrow, one boy to drop the corn, another man with a one-horse plow to cover the corn. This was the way we planted for eight or nine years, or until the last year of the Civil War, when we bought a two-horse corn planter similar to that in use today. We bought almost the first one in the neighborhood. There was no rope or wire to the first planters. A boy or man sat on it and dropped by hand and must hit the marks made crossways.

The first years we were in Iowa all fencing had to be done with rails; not much fencing was done with boards until up into the 1870's. We went to the timber and split the rails and made a worm fence, as it was called. There was just enough worm or crook in it so the fence would stand, then stakes were set at each panel slanting against the fence which was generally six rails high with a block under each corner. Two heavy rails were put onto the stakes that had been set, making the fence eight rails high and about sixteen rails to the rod besides the four stakes making twenty with them. It was quite a job to fence forty acres that way.

The fields had all to be hog tight, cattle strong, and horse high, for all kinds of stock were running on the prairie. I well remember our first field of about forty acres. Father would make enough rails through the winter so we could add ten or fifteen rods on each end and move one side out to meet the new ends. I do not know how many times that side had to be moved each spring until we had eighty or a hundred acres fenced. We nearly always had a little patch of spring wheat and sometimes it would get up high enough

for the stock to eat before we would get the fence moved. Then we would have to herd the stock off while the fence was being moved. Someone had to be on guard on the Sabbath and every day until the field was enclosed.

One Sabbath day father said he would watch the field that day, and he said to mother that he did not see as it would be any worse to make fence on the Sabbath day than to watch the cattle off the wheat. But mother said, "David, don't you do it." But he went to making fence, and as he needed more rails from the timber where they were made and as the field was only about half a mile away he yoked up the two yoke of oxen, fastened them to the wagon, and drove to the timber where he had been driving each day. But as he went along the timber road the oxen did not go just right and the back hub of the wagon hit a tree and broke the hounds out of the wagon. When he drove home with his broken wagon mother said, "Well, did not I tell you so?" That was enough work on the Sabbath day unless it was a work of necessity.

Haying was another slow job in those days. There were no mowing machines and all the hay we had must be cut with the scythe on the prairie, for the prairie grass was the only thing to make hay out of. We not only had to make enough for feed, but our stables and sheds were banked up and covered with slough grass hay. This had to be hauled in soon after it was made or the cattle would come along and scatter the shocks all over the ground.

What small grain we raised had to be cut by hand with a cradle. Perhaps you never saw one. This was the way farming was carried on until the commencement of the Civil War in 1861. Then men and boys were taken in the army (for boys were enlisted as young as fourteen years of age, according to statistics 14,000 were taken at that age). Since many of these men were taken from the farms, some

means had to be invented to take the place of men if the farmers were to raise enough for the army and the folks at home. The first invention I remember was the corn planter I have described. The next was the mowing machine and reaper. We bought the first planter the last year of the war and also the first mower. The mower was a little four-foot Buckeye, the first in the neighborhood. It was a great relief to throw down the scythe. Our mower was in much demand. We not only used it ourselves but the neighbors would come and beg us to mow for them and they would pay us for it. So that mower was kept busy all through the haying season which lasted several weeks in the prairie grass. The next improvement was the self-binder. I should have said the first grain machine. We had to bind by hand the bunches of grain as it dropped them behind it, and this was the hardest work I ever tried to do.

You may ask how long we lived in the log cabin. Nine years or until the last year of the war when father was drafted into the army. He had been wanting to volunteer and talked about volunteering in every company that was going from Warren County, but mother would say, "Now, David, you are not going and leave us in this old log cabin. Suppose you should never come back?" Then he would give it up for the time being. But he would say, "There will be a draft of men to go to the army perhaps and I would have choice of company and regiment." Sure enough the draft did come in the fall of 1864 and father was one of the men drafted and he was delighted to think he was going to have a hand in putting down the rebellion and to demonstrate his patriotism. As soon as he received notice of his being drafted he went right to Des Moines to see the Adjutant General (who was the father of Dr. Baker of Indianola who died two or three years ago) and said to him, "You have notified me to appear within thirty days.

I have not waited the thirty days to appear, but have come to ask for another thirty days."

He then went on to explain what kind of house the family was living in and that he thought he could build a good deal better one in the sixty days. General Baker, appreciating his patriotism, told him to report in sixty days. He came right home and commenced hauling logs to the saw mill and engaged carpenters to build a new house and within the sixty days had a house made of all native lumber, oak roof, floors, siding, lining, and all. It is still standing, the first building south of the square-topped house where Sister Sadie lived and where father and mother both passed their last years.

When we came to Iowa in 1855 the schools were hardly in running order. There were few buildings and very few teachers. As my stepmother was a graduate of Amherst College, Massachusetts, she would give Brother Frank and me daily lessons, for there was no school for us to go to. For two winters the neighbor boys would come to our house and she would give them lessons at night. Afterwards she taught a subscription school. Our first schoolhouse was built in 1858, a small one, weather-boarded up and down like a barn with wide boards and lined with linn timber. One of my first teachers was Cynthia Bundy Barnes, who now lives in Indianola. Sometimes we would have only three months of school in the year. Afterwards there was six months of school, but we did not have a very good chance for schooling.

When the Civil War days came, it made it more difficult, for many boys went into the army before their school days were over and those left at home had too much work to do. A few who had the privilege of attending the school (after the war was over) at Indianola in a building we called the Blue Bird (because it was made of brick and painted blue)

got a little better education. It was a blessing to the county for it was more like an academy. You could enter any grade on up to the highest study. The principal of the Blue Bird, while I attended, was O. H. Baker, who afterwards was sent from the United States as minister to Australia. Reverend S. M. Vernon was another principal while I attended. That was before there was any railroad in the town. This was in 1866, my first year. The next year, 1867, the courthouse was commenced. That was twenty-one years after the county was organized and three years after the town of Indianola was incorporated. I well remember a great many of the students who attended when I did — John Henderson, William Berry, Charley Bane, Brenton Dudley, Ben Noble, Talbot Brothers, and a host of others.

My first ballot was cast for Ulysses S. Grant for President of the United States. That was in the year 1868. The same year I was elected township clerk, an office I did not want but some old men induced me to take it. At the very next election the township board challenged ever so many voters and I had to make them testify by the uplifted hand to all the questions the law prescribed; how old they were, how long in the county, etc. (If you will pardon my telling so much about myself.)

My next venture was the same year I became a voter. I contracted to teach a term of school and then kept teaching parts of five years. I was twenty years on the old homestead in central Otter Township.

My wife and I took up our abode one mile and a half south of Milo in 1875. There was no Milo then. No railroad. No church. We attended church at Lacona the first five years. Then a part of the membership of the Lacona church who were north of Lacona toward where Milo is, withdrew from the Lacona church and organized a little

band of seventeen members in what was then called Goode's Chapel. The next year we built our church building, the first one in Milo. At that organization meeting I was elected one of the elders of the church. That was in the summer of 1880. Also I was elected teacher of the boys' class — boys whose ages ran from fifteen to eighteen. Those positions I held for ten years or until we reorganized in the year 1890, changing from the United Presbyterian to the Presbyterian. I was again elected an elder along with W. C. Wilson, Walter Waugh, Harmon Shrader, James Gilbert, and James Amsberry. I was also elected teacher of the Bible class, which positions I have held up to the present — 1924 — making forty-four years as elder in the church and the same length of time as teacher, and thirty-three years as teacher of the Bible class. There are those in the class today who were charter members of the church.

WILLIAM PORTER NUTTING

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Western America The Exploration, Settlement, and Development of the Region Beyond the Mississippi. By LeRoy R. Hafen and Carl Coke Rister. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1941. Pp. 698. Plates, maps. As the title suggests, this volume is a history of western United States; it begins, not with the exploration of the Atlantic Coast and the settlements there, but with the Spanish in southwestern North America and the French in the Mississippi Valley. The merging of these cultures with that of the English as Americans advanced westward across the Mississippi River makes an interesting story, and the story is well told. The attention of the reader is focused on the West — the Spanish in the Old Southwest, Texas, the Great Plains, and the Pacific Northwest. The thirty-five chapters contain accounts of the purchase of Louisiana, the fur traders, the Mormon migration, the Sante Fe Trail, the acquisition of Oregon, the revolution in Texas and its admission to the Union, the Mexican War, sod houses, the mining frontier, the Pony Express, the coming of the railroads, range cattle and sheep herding, outlaws and vigilance committees, and the evolution of western culture. A bibliography is provided at the end of each chapter and an excellent index completes the volume which is attractively printed and bound.

Building a State Washington 1889-1939. Edited by Charles Miles and O. B. Sperlin. Tacoma, Washington: Washington State Historical Society. 1940. Pp. 626. Plates, maps. This volume, commemorating fifty years of statehood, constitutes Vol. III of the *Washington State Historical Society Publications*. It is dedicated to William P. Bonney, for twenty-six years secretary of the Society. The volume is divided into four parts. The first is a collection of articles on different phases of State history, each by a different author. These include routes to Washington, the beginning of the State, emblems of the State, political issues, cultural progress in religion, education, art, music, literature, theatre, li-

braries, recreation, press and radio, social service, economic progress in agriculture, power, irrigation, transportation, fishing, mining, manufacturing, lumbering, banking, and Grand Coulee Dam. Part II is made up of a similar collection of articles on the history and work of the State Historical Society, each by a different author. Part III is a series of historical papers and addresses and Part IV is made up of three items — a farm journal, a diary of the Oregon Trail, and a statement concerning the Oregon Trail Memorial Association. An index is also provided.

Norwegian Migration to America The American Transition. By Theodore C. Blegen. Northfield, Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1940. Pp. 655. Plates. This volume is in reality a sequel to Dr. Blegen's earlier volume, *Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860*, which told how the Norwegian settlers came to the United States. It describes how these immigrants became Americans, dealing with both the European inheritance of this group and the effect of the American environment. The material is presented in eighteen chapters. An appendix contains the story of President John Quincy Adams and the case against the Norwegian sloop "Restoration". An index and footnotes add to the value of the book and the numerous illustrations make it more interesting. Dr. Blegen's new book tells the story of the conflict between the old life and the new, the desire to retain the culture of Norway and at the same time to fit into American community life. Representative of this conflict was the matter of language, newspapers, and books. The history of the United States contains many examples of these conflicts and adjustments and seldom have their stories been told as well as in Dr. Blegen's account of the Norwegians.

An article entitled *Notes of Auguste Chouteau on Boundaries of Various Indian Nations* makes up the October-December, 1940, number of *Glimpses of the Past*, published by the Missouri Historical Society.

His Mother's Kindred (Benjamin Franklin is meant), by Ada

Harriet Baldwin, and *The Vigilante Movement and Its Press in Montana*, by R. L. Housman, are the two articles in *Americana* for January.

The Tulip Tree A Plea for the Culture of Our State Tree, by A. R. Bechtel, and a report by a Committee on State Trees of the Indiana Historical Society are published in the *Indiana History Bulletin* for January.

Mrs. Butler's 1853 Diary of Rogue River Valley, edited by Oscar Osburn Winther and Rose Dodge Galey, which appears in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* for December, 1940, contains several entries referring to Iowa.

A Fluted Copper Spud, by Charles E. Brown, *Tichigan Cache; Trade Goods Grignon-Portier Post*, by George Overton; and *Red Paint with Wisconsin Burials* are articles in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for December, 1940.

First Formal History of Transylvania Presbytery (written between 1804 and 1808), edited by Thos. C. Pears, Jr., is one of the articles in the *Journal of The Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.* for December, 1940.

The Filson Club History Quarterly for January includes: *Colonel John Floyd, Kentucky Pioneer*, by Hambleton Tapp; *Cumberland Gap, Gateway of Empire*, by Robert L. Kincaid; and *Joseph R. Underwood's Fragmentary Journal*, edited by Arndt M. Stickles.

Urban and Rural Voting in 1896, by William Diamond, and *Who Killed the Progressive Party?*, by Harold L. Ickes, are two of the three articles in the January issue of *The American Historical Review*. Under *Documents* there is *An American Plan for a Canadian Campaign*, by C. P. Stacey.

Place Names of the Mille Lacs Region, by Mary W. Berthel; *Imaginary Animals of Northern Minnesota*, by Marjorie Edgar; *The Medical Books of Dr. Charles N. Hewitt*, by Thomas E. Keys; and *The Rise of Organized Labor in Minnesota*, by George B. Engberg, are articles in *Minnesota History* for December, 1940.

The January number of *Mid-America* contains the following articles: *Hennepin's "Description of Louisiana"*, by Jean Delanglez; and *Captain Anza and the Case of Father Campos*, by Peter M. Dunne. J. Manuel Espinosa presents a translation of a document entitled *Population of the El Paso District in 1692*.

The Kentucky Colonization Society, by J. Winston Coleman, Jr.; *The Letters of Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky*, edited by James A. Padget; and a continuation of *The Blair Family in the Civil War*, by Grace N. Taylor, are three of the contributions in the January number of *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*.

The Southwestern Historical Quarterly for January includes the following articles: *The Knights of the Golden Circle: A Filibustering Fantasy*, by C. A. Bridges; *Oil, the Courts, and the Railroad Commission*, by James P. Hart; *The Van Dorn Trails*, by J. W. Williams; and *Christmas and New Year in Texas*, collected by Walter Prescott Webb.

The Trail-Making Urge, by Fred G. Hawxby, and *The Pony Express Trail: Its Dramatic Story*, by Arthur J. Denney, are two addresses printed in *Nebraska History* for January-March, 1940. This number contains also a number of short toasts and a list of speakers who have appeared before the Nebraska State Historical Society during the past sixty years.

The John Brown Legend in Pictures, by James C. Malin; *Ransom's John Brown Painting*, by Robert S. Fletcher; *The Eldridge House*, by Martha B. Caldwell; *Eastern Kansas in 1869-1870*, by Paul H. Giddens; and *The First Kansas Workmen's Compensation Law*, by Domenico Gagliardo, are articles in the November, 1940, number of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

Early Literary Developments in Indiana, by Agnes M. Murray; *Robert Glenn's Scottish Home in Indiana*, by Julie LeClere Knox; *Clark's Conquest of the Northwest*, by Major Joseph I. Lambert; and *Chapman Denslow and His Family*, by Hugh Th. Miller, are articles in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for December, 1940.

William O. Lynch, the editor, contributes *Indiana Twenty-five Years Ago*.

Attorney General Herbert S. Hadley versus The Standard Oil Trust, by Hazel Tutt Long; *Missouri Railroads During the Civil War and Reconstruction*, by Margaret Louise Fitzsimmons; and *Early Ste. Genevieve and its Architecture*, by Charles E. Peterson, are the articles and papers in *The Missouri Historical Review* for January. Under *Missouri Miniatures* there is a biographical sketch of Thomas Hart Benton.

The *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* has renewed its publication suspended since 1933. The October, 1940, number includes the following articles: *Marquis De Mores in North Dakota*, translated by George F. Will; *The Paisley Shawl*, by Dr. James Grassick; *Pioneering in North Dakota*, by Charles H. Hobart; and *The North Dakota State Park System*, by Russell Reid, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

Memoirs of Jeremiah Curtin, edited by Joseph Schafer, has been published as Volume II of the *Wisconsin Biography Series*. The memoirs were originally dictated by Mr. Curtin to his wife, Alma Cardell Curtin. The manuscript was presented to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin by Mr. Curtin's niece, Mrs. Walter J. Seifert. Curtin, a famous linguist and traveler, spent the early years of his life in Wisconsin.

Colorado Folklore, by Levette Jay Davidson; *Montie Blevins, North Park Cattleman*, by Adah B. Bailey; *The Early Days in Florence, Colorado*, by Lynn Smith; and a continuation of *Place Names in Colorado* are articles in the January issue of *The Colorado Magazine*. *Place Names in Colorado* is continued in the March number which also includes *Minerals Named for Colorado Men*, an article by Richard M. Pearl.

The Critical Years of the Catholic Church in the United States, by Helen Auld; *Bishop Martin Marty, O. S. B. — 1834–1896 “The Apostle of the Sioux Indians”*, by Father Ildefons Betschart; and *The Development of the Separation of Church and State in the*

United States of America, by John Joseph Graham, are articles in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* for the four quarters of 1939.

The *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society* for December, 1940, contains an article, *Seth Warner*, by Walter S. Fenton; a review of Holbrook's *Ethan Allen*, written by John Clement; *Vermont's Part in Industry*, by Ralph W. Putnam; and an abstract of *The Rise and Decline of the Iron Industry in the Eastern Adirondack Region*, by Elmer Eugene Barker. The article on *Vermont's Part in Industry* includes a biographical sketch of John Deere.

The Mormons of Mormon Coulee, by Albert H. Sanford; *The Life of John Lawler*, by William B. Faherty; *The Famous Octagon House at Watertown*, by Zida C. Ivey; *The Military Record of Jefferson Davis in Wisconsin*, by P. L. Scanlan; and *The First Concrete Building in the United States*, by W. A. Titus, are articles in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December, 1940. The issue also contains *Letters of Charles Richard Van Hise*. The *Editorial Comment*, by Joseph Schafer, is *Henry Baird Favill A Wisconsin Gift to Chicago*.

The December, 1940, issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* contains the following articles: *Wanderings in the West in 1839*, by Earl W. Hayter; *Literary Opportunities in Pioneer Times*, by Jay Monaghan; *Charles Reynolds Matheny: Pioneer Settler of Illinois (1786-1839)*, by T. Walter Johnson; *Mr. Lincoln Goes to the Theatre*, by Art Hemminger; and *Hiram K. Jones and Philosophy in Jacksonville*, by Paul Russell Anderson. There is also a short article on *Training for Womanhood, Nineteenth Century*, by Mrs. Otto Dorr.

Volume ten of the *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, recently published, contains two journals. One is the *Fort Benton Journal, 1854-1856*; the second is the *Fort Sarpy Journal, 1855-1856*. The original copies of both have been in the possession of the Historical Society of Montana for a number of years. With the exception of three of the biographical sketches

which were written by Col. W. F. Wheeler, the extensive notes and references which appear following the journals were prepared by Mrs. Anne McDonnell, assistant librarian.

The Winter number of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains a number of short articles, among which are the following: *Silver Jack* (verse), by John I. Bellaire; *Society of Occident and Orient*, by Philip Slomovitz; *The Paul Bunyan Yarns*, by James Cloyd Bowman; *Wielded a Strong Pen*, by William Stocking; *The Bull Moose Movement in Michigan*, by Alice Porter Campbell; *Industrial Fremont—Past and Present*, by Harry L. Spooner; and *Pioneer Health: Prevailing Diseases and Hygienic Conditions in Early Michigan*, by Earl E. Kleinschmidt. *Yesterdays With the Magazine* is a collection of short items on prehistoric and Indian life.

Pierre Clement de Laussat: An Intimate Portrait, by André Lafargue; *The Huntsmen of Black Ivory*, by John Smith Kendall; *Some Interesting Glimpses of Louisiana a Century Ago*, from the files of the "Picayune", edited by Walter Prichard; chapter one of *The Life of Richard Taylor*, by Jackson Beauregard Davis; *The Diminishing Influences of German Culture in New Orleans Life Since 1865*, by William Robinson Konrad; *George Washington Cable's Literary Apprenticeship*, by Arlin Turner; and *New Orleans Lynchings of 1891 and the American Press*, by J. Alexander Karlin, are articles in the January issue of *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*.

IOWANA

The Iowa Historical Records Survey Project has recently published a *Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in the United States—Iowa*. This includes holdings in various libraries and in private collections.

The Survey of Federal Archives has recently issued in pamphlet form the list of holdings of Department of the Interior archives in Iowa. This is No. 4 in Series VIII of the *Inventory of Federal Archives in the States*.

The January issue of *Annals of Iowa* contains the following contributions: *Alfred John Pearson, An Appreciation*, by F. I. Herriott; *Iowa Pioneer Birds*, by Jack W. Musgrove, Mary R. Musgrove, and Kenneth E. Colton; and a final installment of *Letters of James W. Grimes*.

The Reverend P. Adelstein Johnson has recently issued in mimeographed form two pamphlets entitled *Centennial Lectures on One Hundred Years of Congregationalism in Iowa*. These lectures were delivered at the Twenty-seventh Annual Fellowship Conference at Grinnell, Iowa, on November 13 and 14, 1940.

Pictures Within the Law, by Mason Ladd, and *John Springer, Iowa's Great Printer, Was Scholar and Craftsman*, by Russell E. Kiesele, are two articles in *The Iowa Publisher* for February. This number also contains a biographical sketch of John C. Hartman, long time publisher of the *Waterloo Courier*.

The January and February numbers of *The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society* include articles on *The History of Medicine in Buchanan County*, by F. F. Agnew and A. G. Shellito. The January number also contains a biographical sketch of Dr. Tom Morford Throckmorton who died October 31, 1940, at the age of eighty-seven. There is also an announcement of the death of Dr. David S. Fairchild of Clinton, a son of the Dr. David S. Fairchild who wrote articles on the history of medicine. The March issue contains *Pioneer Doctors of Clinton County*, by W. M. Walliker, and a biographical sketch of Dr. William A. Rohlf.

A History of Woodbury County, by A. R. Fulton, has been issued in pamphlet form. The material was transcribed as an Iowa Historical Records Survey Project. The sponsor was the Iowa State Department of History and Archives and the Sioux City Public Museum is listed as co-sponsor. The Fulton manuscript was prepared in 1868 when Mr. Fulton was writing historical sketches for the *State Register*. The introduction is by Kenneth S. Clancy, State Supervisor of the Iowa Historical Records Survey. The volume includes fifteen chapters—General Description, Streams, Timber, Minerals, Climate, History, The Press, Railroads,

River Navigation, Sioux City Land District, Productions-Fruits, Education-Churches, Statistics-County Officers, Towns-Villages, and Lands-Land Agencies. An index has been provided and there is a list of the publications of the Iowa Historical Records Survey.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

Sketches of the members of the *Des Moines Register and Tribune* staff, in the *Des Moines Register*, December 2, 1940.

Old mill at Chickasaw will be replaced by modern night club, in the *Nashua Reporter*, December 4, 1940.

Sketch of the life of B. P. Holst, philanthropist, banker, and man of letters, in the *Boone News-Republican*, December 5, 9, 1940.

First murder in Boone County was on Christmas, 1858, in the *Madrid Register-News*, December 5, 1940.

History of Van Buren County, compiled by Isaac McCracken, in the *Farmington News-Republican*, December 12, 1940.

Some Montezuma Methodist Church history, in the *Montezuma Republican*, December 12, 1940.

Some Salem Church history, in the *Traer Star-Clipper*, December 13, 1940.

Walter D. Fuller, formerly of Corning, is president of the National Association of Manufacturers, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, December 13, 1940.

Sketch of the life of George T. Baker, civil engineer, former mayor of Davenport, and for thirty-one years member of the State Board of Education, in the *Davenport Democrat*, December 15, 1940.

Bible found on battlefield in France is returned to Brandon, Iowa, by Gene Farmer, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, December 15, 1940.

Lamoni, city of the Latter Day Saints, by Herbert G. Owens, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, December 17, 1940.

An original log cabin near Modale, in the *Missouri Valley Times News*, December 17, and the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, December 31, 1940.

Observation of Christmas in early times, in the *Des Moines Register*, December 19, and the *Webster City Freeman-Journal*, December 31, 1940.

Some notes on George D. Perkins, journalist, in the *Alton Democrat*, December 20, 1940.

Sketch of the life of Henry W. Huiskamp, pioneer merchant, manufacturer, and banker, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, December 23, 1940.

Professor Charles R. Keyes of Cornell College, by Norma Kofahl, in the *Mt. Vernon Record*, December 26, 1940.

The story of Iowa's flag, by Iva Roorda, in the *Knoxville Journal*, December 26, 1940.

Pioneer families of Pocahontas County had simple Christmas, by Matie L. Baily, in the *Laurens Sun*, December 26, 1940.

Death of August Eichhoff, Muscatine Civil War veteran, in the *Muscatine Journal*, December 28, 1940.

Death of Civil War veteran Silas Parker, aged 102, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, December 31, 1940.

Sketch of the life of Lafe Hill, newspaperman, and former Representative, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, January 2, the *Charles City Press*, January 4, and the *Waterloo Courier*, January 5, 1941.

Death of pioneer Alex Pickard, born in Jefferson County in 1851, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, January 2, 1941.

Sixty-first wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. Dave Lewis, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, January 2, 1941.

First settlers of Fremont County, in the *Hamburg Reporter*, January 2, 1941.

Reprinting of R. A. Smith's "History of Dickinson County", in the *Milford Mail*, January 2, 1941.

Sketch of the life of John C. Hartman, editor of the *Waterloo Courier* for last forty-five years, in the *Waterloo Courier* and the *Des Moines Tribune*, January 3, 1941.

Portraits in the State Department of History and Archives have a story, in the *Des Moines Register*, January 4, 1941.

Copy of James W. Grimes painting found at Grinnell College, in the *Grinnell Herald-Register*, January 6, 1941.

Death of Llewellyn Lewis, Civil war veteran, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, January 6, and the *Klemme Times*, January 9, 1941.

Death of Otto A. Byington, former district judge and State Representative, in the *Iowa City Daily Iowan*, January 8, 1941.

Sixtieth wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. Frank W. Buxton, in the *Clinton Herald*, January 9, 1941.

Grant Tyler recalls some Eldora newspaper history, in the *Eldora Herald-Ledger*, January 9, 1941.

Two Muscatine men, members of the Friends Church, administered Indian affairs, in the *Muscatine Journal*, January 11, 1941.

Robert Blue, Speaker of the Iowa House of Representatives, by Louis Cook, Jr., in the *Des Moines Register*, January 12, 1941.

Charles Hamilton, 102, Iowa's oldest Civil War veteran, in the *Des Moines Register*, January 12, 1941.

Sketch of the life of Scott Robinson, born a slave in Missouri, in the *Clinton Herald*, January 13, 1941.

Sketch of the life of Lars E. Bladine, journalist, in the *Waterloo Courier*, January 14, and the *Des Moines Register*, January 14, 15, 1941.

Iowa's interest in former Secretary Harry L. Hopkins, by Harvey Ingham, in the *Des Moines Register*, January 14, 1941.

Early Fayette County history, by T. D. Peterman, in the *Arlington News*, January 16, 23, 30, February 6, 13, 20, 1941.

Some facts about Iowa's Corn Song, in the *Anamosa Eureka*, January 16, 1941.

Reminiscences of the Little Sioux area, when Indians roamed over the country and mail came by ski, by Charlotte Kirchner Butler, in the *Peterson Patriot*, January 16, 1941.

Early days in Hubbard, in the *Eldora Herald-Ledger*, January 16, 1941.

Sketch of the life of F. A. Stephenson, pioneer in the clay working industry of Iowa, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, January 17, 1941.

Work in the natural science section of the Historical Department building, by George Coleman, in the *Des Moines Register*, January 19, 1941.

Henry A. Wallace on becoming Vice-president of the United States, by Addison Parker, in the *Des Moines Register*, January 20, 1941.

Sketch of the life of Civil War veteran Edwin Perry, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, January 20, 1941.

Death of C. Orville Lee, former State Senator, in the *Des Moines Register*, January 21, 1941.

List of Iowa cities which have centennials in 1941, in the *Des Moines Register*, January 19, 1941.

How Lieutenant E. Isaacs swam the Rhine River to escape prison in 1918, in the *Cresco Times*, January 22, 1941.

Death of Daniel W. Morehouse, astronomer, and president of Drake University, in the *Iowa City Daily Iowan*, January 22, and the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, January 23, 1941.

Sketch of the life of Ole Johnson, Iowa's oldest man, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, January 22, the *Des Moines Register*, January 29, and the *Sioux City Journal*, January 29, 1941.

The Teagardner Massacre in early Fayette County history, by T. D. Peterman, in the *Arlington News*, January 23, 1941.

Inventions of the Wandscheer brothers of Sioux Center, in the *Sioux Center News*, January 23, 1941.

Captain Olaf M. Hustvedt, appointed commander of the battleship *North Carolina*, lived in Decorah, in the *Waukon Democrat*, January 23, 1941.

America's first gold certificates, issued at Burlington, 1856 to 1858, in the *Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette*, January 23, 1941.

Death of A. B. Judson, Master of the Grange for twenty-nine years, in the *Malvern Leader*, January 23, 1941.

Death of former State Representative W. H. Gissel, of Hawkeye, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, January 25, 1941.

George E. Roberts, one time publisher of the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, had international reputation as a writer on economic subjects, in the *Des Moines Register*, January 25, 1941.

Death of Felicia Shelton, 107, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, January 27, 1941.

David B. Henderson's three gavels are returned to Iowa, at Upper Iowa University, in the *West Union Gazette*, January 29, 1941.

Mrs. Hannah Harger invented the door screen, in the *West Union Gazette*, January 29, 1941.

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Death of actor W. E. (Bill) Triplett, former Indianola resident, in the *Indianola Tribune*, January 30, 1941.

Some Iowans in national offices, in the *Sheldon Mail*, January 30, 1941.

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Des Moines Tribune, January 31, the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, January 31, and the *Villisca Review*, February 6, 1941.

The old claim house in Davenport was built in 1832 by George L. Davenport, son of Col. George Davenport, in the *Davenport Democrat*, February 2, 1941.

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Sketch of the life of C. C. Colclo, prominent Carroll citizen and one-time member of the legislature, in the *Carroll Herald*, February 4, 1941.

Iowans in high places in federal government, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, February 4, 1941.

Death of Frank E. Ellis, former State Senator, in the *Des Moines Register*, February 7, the *Davenport Democrat*, February 7, and the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, February 8, 1941.

The Culver trading post in early Fayette County history, by T. D. Peterman, in the *Arlington News*, February 6, 1941.

Old photographs reminiscent of early days in Davenport and Scott County, in the *Davenport Democrat*, February 9, 1941.

Death of Lucy Sprague Brooks, who came to Iowa in 1854, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, February 11, 1941.

Mrs. Sarah J. Dawson recalls Lincoln and Douglas at Wilton Junction, in the *Davenport Democrat*, February 12, 1941.

The depot at Waukon Junction recalls some railroad history at Waukon, in the *Postville Herald*, February 12, 1941.

Sketch of the life of Roy Haney, former mayor of Glenwood, and one-time member of the House of Representatives, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune*, February 13, 17, 1941.

The big blizzard of February 18, 1881, in the *Dyersville Commercial*, February 13, 1941.

An old Spanish halberd, possibly used by Spanish explorers, was

dug up within Davenport limits, in the *Davenport Democrat*, February 13, 1941.

The Rowland Gardner cabin in the lake region where thirty-two settlers were killed by Indians, by Louis Cook, Jr., in the *Des Moines Register*, February 14, 1941.

University of Iowa celebrates ninety-fourth birthday in special Founders' Day radio program, in the *Iowa City Daily Iowan*, February 16, 1941.

Review of early events of DeWitt and Clinton County, in the *Clinton Herald*, February 19, 1941.

Death of Wallace Arney, banker, former Senator and Representative, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, February 20, 1941.

The Okoboji Cabin considered as a State memorial, by Harvey Ingham, in the *Des Moines Register*, February 20, 25, 1941.

Col. W. R. Ritchie, veteran auctioneer, in the *Sioux City Journal*, February 23, 1941.

Two of Algona's first settlers, by Geo. E. Blackford, in the *Algona Advance*, February 25, 1941.

The story of the Ver Planck Van Antwerp land patents in Burlington, in the *Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette*, February 25, 1941.

Death of Civil War veteran, Jacob Watland, New Sharon pioneer, in the *Oskoloosa Herald*, February 28, 1941.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Interested persons in Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio have formed an organization known as the Anthony Wayne Memorial Association to foster recognition of the work of General Wayne in the establishment of American control over the Old Northwest.

The sixty-sixth annual meeting of the Michigan State Historical Society was held at Fremont, Michigan, on October 11, 1940. Secretary George N. Fuller reported a membership of 329. Trustees were elected for 1940-1942 and a program of papers and talks was presented.

High school students in Indiana have organized the Indiana Junior Historical Society "to encourage interest in history among high school pupils". Annual meetings are to be held at the same time and place as the annual conventions of the Indiana Historical Society.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, at its mid-year meeting in New York in December, 1940, voted to make Dr. Louis Pelzer of the Department of History of the State University of Iowa the managing editor of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. The *Review* is a quarterly and was begun in 1914.

The ninety-second annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society was held at St. Paul on January 20, 1941. The program included a conference on local history, a luncheon, and an evening meeting. The speaker in the evening was Dr. Philip Jordan of Miami University who delivered an address on the Hutchinson family of singers, with the aid of a quartet to sing the old songs. Other speakers were Archbishop John Gregory Murray who spoke on "The Coming of the Church to St. Paul" and Mrs. Grace Flandrau who discussed "St. Paul's First Generation".

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association will hold its annual meeting at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on April 24-26, 1941, with

Marquette University as local sponsor. The chairman of the program committee is O. Fritiof Ander, of Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois. Iowans and former Iowans on the program include Louis Pelzer of the State University of Iowa, who will preside at the session on "The Changing West", Bessie L. Pierce of the University of Chicago, who will preside at the session devoted to "The Development of the Great Lakes Region", Philip D. Jordan of Miami University, who will preside at the session discussing medical history, Carl Wittke, who will deliver the presidential address on "The American Theme in the Literature of the Continent", and Frank L. Mott, of the University of Iowa School of Journalism, who will speak on "Humor in Newspaper Reporting and Editing, 1833-1883".

The annual meeting of the Conference of Historical Societies was held in the assembly hall of The New-York Historical Society at New York City on December 27, 1940. At this meeting a Policy Committee, appointed in 1939, recommended that a new organization, The American Association for State and Local History, should take the place of the Conference of Historical Societies. The report was approved and a constitution for the new organization was adopted. C. C. Crittenden of Raleigh, N. C., was elected president of the new organization and Miss Dorothy C. Barck of New York City was made acting secretary-treasurer. The purpose of the Association is "the promotion of effort and activity in the fields of state, provincial, and local history in the United States and Canada." The State Historical Society of Iowa is one of the founding members of the Association.

IOWA

Under the chairmanship of John C. Bradbury the temporary organization having in charge plans for a Mahaska County historical society has been actively at work. Special effort is being directed toward the erection of a building for the keeping of records and relics.

The officers of the Pocahontas County Historical Society elected

at a meeting held on February 4, 1941, at the Pocahontas County courthouse were: Mrs. J. H. Pollock, president; W. W. Harris, vice president; A. L. Schultz, secretary-treasurer. Mrs. Matie L. Baily was made chairman of press and publicity.

The following officers were elected at a meeting of the Jasper County Historical Society, held in the Newton Congregational Church, on January 29, 1941: president, Fred E. Meredith; vice president, Mrs. Mark I. Shaw; secretary, W. S. Johnson; assistant secretary, Faye Wilkinson; and treasurer, W. I. Price. A special program was presented at the meeting, which included historical reviews from six communities prepared by high school students, musical numbers, and the showing of color films on Iowa by K. Yoshinaga of Newton. A banquet preceded the program and business meeting.

On November 6, 1940, a bronze tablet on a granite boulder was unveiled in the Mesquakie Indian cemetery on the reservation near Tama honoring Chief Push-E-To-Ne-Qua, the last chief of this group recognized by the United States. The Sac and Fox chief was born in Poweshiek Village, Iowa County, Iowa, in 1842, and died on the reservation at Tama in 1919. The memorial was erected by students of the schools of Tama County and by the Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution. Present at the ceremony, representing the tribes, were three sons of the Indian chief, as well as a grandson, George Young Bear, who acted as interpreter for his father, and also gave a tribute to his grandfather. Mrs. R. P. Ink, historian of the D. A. R., dedicated the monument as a symbol of good citizenship. Dr. Ira D. Nelson, superintendent of the reservation, spoke on behalf of the Indian Bureau. Others taking part in the program under the chairmanship of Mrs. W. G. MacMartin were Mrs. George Wilson, Ben Jones, the Rev. F. C. Patterson, and W. H. Benedict, principal of the Fox Indian school.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Dr. William J. Petersen, Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa, read a paper before the Medical History

Club of the College of Medicine faculty of the State University of Iowa on February 26, 1941. His subject was "Diseases and Doctors in Pioneer Iowa".

On January 22, 1941, Miss Ethyl E. Martin, Superintendent of the State Historical Society and President of the Iowa State Division of the American Association of University Women, gave an address on "The Work of The State Historical Society of Iowa" before the Cedar Rapids Branch of the Association. Miss Martin has been recently named a member of the national membership committee of the American Association for State and Local History, representing the State Historical Society of Iowa.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mrs. Matie L. Baily, Pocahontas, Iowa; Mr. John E. Belgarde, Independence, Iowa; Mr. Richard F. Boyer, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Waldo W. Braden, Iowa City, Iowa; Dr. LeGrand Byington, San Francisco, California; Dr. Donald Conzett, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. Lawrence C. Crawford, Iowa City, Iowa; Rev. W. G. Crowder, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Mr. Albert F. Dodge, Ames, Iowa; Mrs. Catharine Barbour Farquhar, Malvern, Iowa; Mr. Ernie H. Klink, Belle Plaine, Iowa; Mr. Elmer E. McMartin, Castalia, Iowa; Mr. Ben F. Martinsen, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. Tom E. Shearer, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Louis Shulman, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Dean Zenor, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Joseph George Duncan, East Lansing, Michigan; Mr. Norman D. Froiland, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Leroy T. Goble, Chicago, Illinois; Mr. George M. Kirby, Buffalo, New York; Mr. C. J. Lynch, Jr., Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mrs. Margaret E. Nolan, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Robert G. Smith, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Franklin H. Spurrier, Mount Ayr, Iowa; and Mr. LeRoy von Lackum, Iowa City, Iowa.

Mr. R. S. Beall of Mount Ayr, Iowa, has been enrolled as a life member of the Society.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Wallace H. Arney, a retired banker of Marshalltown, Iowa, died on February 19, 1941. He represented Marshall County in the Iowa House of Representatives during the years 1907-1910 and was a member of the State Senate for 1913 to 1920, being president *pro tem* of the Senate in 1917 and 1919. Mr. Arney was born on a farm in Marshall County on April 2, 1862. He attended the Albion Seminary and went to college at Oskaloosa, later teaching school and farming until he became a banker at Albion and later at Marshalltown.

Frank E. Ellis, State Senator from 1936 to 1940, and founder of the Frank Ellis museum of archeology and anthropology at Maquoketa, died on February 6, 1941, at Maquoketa. Mr. Ellis was born near Hurstville in Jackson County on March 12, 1879. His business was insurance and real estate but he was also interested in archeology, geology, and anthropology, and was instrumental in having the cave region along the Maquoketa River made a State park. He was active in community affairs and was one of the promoters of the Jackson County centennial celebration in August, 1938.

George Titus Baker, a mayor of Davenport from 1898 to 1900 and a member of the State Board of Education since its organization in 1909, died on December 13, 1940. He was born in Iowa County on July 9, 1857. Educated at Hall's School for Boys at Ellington, Connecticut, McClain's Iowa City Academy, the State University of Iowa, and Cornell University, Mr. Baker began his engineering work at Davenport in the service of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad. From 1889 to 1892 he served as chief engineer of the high bridges at Muscatine, Clinton, and Winona, Minnesota. Later he engaged in construction work. He was a member of the Iowa House of Representatives from 1896 to 1898.

Lafe Hill, a Representative in the Iowa General Assembly from

1925 to 1931 and Senator from 1931 to 1935, died on December 31, 1940. He was born near Mount Ayr, Iowa, on March 5, 1864, and graduated from Tilford Academy at Vinton. He served as superintendent of schools for a number of years and then went into the printing business, working at first under his half-brother, David Brant, for many years publisher of the *Iowa City Republican*. At various times Mr. Hill published the *North English Record*, the *Nora Springs Advertiser*, the *Nora Springs Tribune*, and the *Rudd Review*. A Republican in politics, he was also active in community and welfare work in Nora Springs, where he resided. For seventeen years he served as a trustee of the Nora Springs Methodist Church and for more than twenty years had been chairman of the local Red Cross.

Daniel W. Morehouse, astronomer, and president of Drake University, died at the age of sixty-four at Des Moines on January 21, 1941. Dr. Morehouse was born at Mankato, Minnesota, on February 22, 1876. He had continuous association with Drake University from the time he attended school there as an undergraduate student until his death, serving the University as professor of physics and astronomy, dean of men, dean of the University's college of liberal arts, and as its president since 1923. He received degrees from several universities and served for a summer as volunteer research assistant at Yerkes Observatory and as an instructor of astronomy for one year at the University of California. His reputation as an astronomer was established by the discovery of the Morehouse Comet on September 1, 1908, and also of Comet C at an earlier time.

The main feature of the program at the meeting of the Des Moines Pioneer Club, held at Hotel Fort Des Moines on January 18, 1941, was the paper presented by Vernon Seeburger on his research into the 1860-1870 period of Des Moines history. The program also included the showing of early Des Moines scenes and persons in pictures. In the business session, Harry H. Polk was elected president and B. F. Kauffman vice president. Forest Huttenlocher was reelected secretary-treasurer. The club voted to

increase its membership requirements so that applicants must not only have been residents of Des Moines for forty years, but also must be the direct lineal descendants of pioneers who had legal residence in the city in 1870. Sons or grandsons of members are also eligible after reaching forty years of age. The club has held forty-seven annual meetings.

CONTRIBUTORS

ONEY FRED SWEET (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, October, 1940, p. 448.)

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VIEWS OF THREE IOWA NEWSPAPERS
ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ¹
1919-1920

While the terms of peace with Germany following the first World War and the provisions of the proposed League of Nations were being discussed by a small group at Versailles, a much larger group was engaged in a discussion of the same topics and this debate was at its height months after the diplomats at Versailles had completed their work and separated. In the United States, where the traditional policy of national isolation had been followed in general since the beginning of the nation, fears were felt by some that the covenant being formulated at Versailles would lead to the abandonment of this principle for one of alliance with the European powers, a move which the isolationists thought would be disastrous to the United States. There were others who saw in the proposed plan one of the greatest forward steps ever taken in international relations.

Even before the exact provisions of the proposed League of Nations were made public, American newspapers were commenting upon its various phases, some strongly approving the plan in general, some frankly opposing any international agreement, and some evidently willing to accept a league if it could be shown to be beneficial to the United States.

ISOLATION VERSUS INTERNATIONALISM

In Iowa, *The Des Moines Register*, a Republican paper, was the foremost advocate of the League. In spite of the

¹ This paper was prepared in connection with graduate work at the George Washington University during the summer of 1930. The Iowa papers used

opposition which developed, the editors of the *Register* had confidence that the League would be ratified and would become firmly established. They reasoned as follows: there are three stages in every great movement — an enthusiastic acceptance, based chiefly on emotion; a reaction of suspicion and a desire for investigation; and, finally, seasoned judgment which sees the advantages in the movement and accepts it. The fact that suspicions and doubts were arising concerning the League showed only that it was in the second stage. The third stage, it was thought, would naturally follow.

Suspicion, declared the *Register's* editorials, would in time disappear and this proposed world union would “become as well established as the American union is today”, in spite of the opposition of certain Senators “who ought to know better”.

“There is no question of the general trend of popular sentiment, there is no question of the general merit of the proposition. The only question is whether the people can be held through this second stage of depreciation and discouragement, and detraction, to the final achievement of the greatest end ever sought by the organized peoples of the world.”

It would be a mistake, said the *Register*, for the Republican party to follow the lead of the opposition Senators because the League would, in the end, appeal to the people. As early as February 3, 1919, the *Register* was urging the people, as a patriotic duty, to support the meetings planned to further the league idea on the ground that it was the only means of securing lasting justice and liberty. Thus, early in the discussion, the *Des Moines Register* was favorable

were those preserved and bound by the Library of Congress — *The Des Moines Register*, *The Sioux City Journal*, and the *Dubuque Times-Journal*. All were Republican papers. The *Dubuque Times-Journal* at that time published a morning and an evening edition and both were used.

to the idea of international coöperation and was earnestly advocating the League of Nations.²

On the other hand, the *Dubuque Times-Journal*, also a Republican paper, was equally opposed to any idea of any league. It began its attack on the treaty in the evening edition of February 7, 1919, with the publication of an editorial copied from the *New York Sun*. This editorial filled the entire first column of the first page, its position showing the importance which the paper attached to it. In part it read: "Greater even than the Monroe Doctrine is the Washington Doctrine, impressively formulated in his last message of counsel to the American people, reaffirmed in the clear and concise phraseology of Jefferson and in the ringing periods of Daniel Webster's incomparable eloquence: 'Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, honor or caprice? It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.' " The editorial emphasized the fact that it had been because of the observance of this policy that we had become one of the greatest nations of the world.

The *Times-Journal*, through the reprinting of this editorial, indicated its conviction that adherence to the League of Nations would not only be inexpedient but would also mean giving up a certainty for an uncertainty. It quoted from the same editorial, "There is a vast difference between nebulous theory and adamant fact. The adamant fact is the unique place the Washington Doctrine has given us; the power, while attending to our own affairs, to reach forth on proper occasion, and use our might as occasion requires. Why should we throw the power away? We hear

² *The Des Moines Register*, February 1, 17, March 11, 1919.

much of ideals; we have already our own ideal, the American ideal." This Dubuque editor, therefore, unwilling to give up the policy of national isolation for that of internationalism, opposed the League even before its exact provisions were known.

The same editorial also asserted that the League was not practicable and that it could not last. Human nature or national character has not changed, it maintained. "The whole history of the world shows that an artificial league of nations is likely to crumble like an egg-shell under a heavy heel of the first important divergence of economic or territorial interests as between the really dominant powers associated".

Further, in order to show its attitude toward the proposed League, the *Dubuque Times-Journal*, beginning on February 23, 1919, and continuing for almost a year, printed at the head of its editorial column every day the following quotation: " 'It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.' — George Washington." This is but one illustration of the vigorous opposition to the League on the part of this paper.

But the use of Washington's Farewell Address was not confined to the opposition alone, since two opposite interpretations of the same address were given depending on the attitude with which it was approached. An advocate of the League ³ on February 22, 1919, probably inspired by the fact that it was Washington's birthday, emphasized that part of the address which insisted on the maintenance of neutrality. It accused its opponents of applying the letter of the speech and not the spirit, saying that Washington would have been an ardent advocate of the League had it been proposed in his day. His purpose in advising

³ *The Des Moines Register*.

against foreign entanglements was to prevent war, and since this was one of the purposes of the League he would have welcomed it.

The *Sioux City Journal*, another Republican paper, of the same date supported this argument, saying that Washington's address applied only to his own times and could not be used as a guide for the present. He knew the unsettled condition of Europe and for that reason warned the young republic to keep out of it. This advice, it said, did not apply under the changed conditions and could not be used as an argument for continued national isolation. The "counsel of men which concerns only their present does not become binding principles of government for all future time."

In spite of this, the *Sioux City Journal* was not wholly favorable to the League. It took for granted that the President was sincere and in earnest in his efforts and that he was moved by the highest motives and by what he believed to be American sentiment and for this reason it urged the American people to remain open-minded and to give his plans the consideration which those of an honest, sincere man should have. Yet it found several features of the League to which exception could be taken. It admitted some validity for the argument that under its proposed provisions foreign nations might be able to direct the foreign policy of this country and might even place restraint on American national policies. Moreover, there were features of the League constitution which might conflict with the United States Constitution. The wisdom of the system of mandatories was also questioned, although this was admitted to be in line with the American policy. If it should be adopted the United States would be compelled to assume her share, since it would be difficult "to crawl out of the responsibility of assuming some of the burdens such poli-

cies involve.” The acceptance of such mandatories was, it was asserted, more beneficial to other governments than to the United States. “If this responsibility is assumed the United States must become a policeman in every continent on earth. . . . The nation must protect the people, against the encroachments of their neighbors, and against usurpation of their rights by other powers.”⁴

But despite the objections offered the Sioux City paper did not believe that the League should be rejected without careful consideration, if at all. Above all it should not be rejected on the basis of precedents set and laws made a century or more ago. “The proposed league of nations has its weaknesses. There are features which run athwart the fundamental law of this nation. But those who seek to defeat it must base their arguments on other grounds than the declarations of statesmen of a century ago.”⁵ There must be an impartial investigation on the part of the public. “It is not wisdom to allow the president to make sentiment for his views, except as that sentiment is based on logic. Neither is it wisdom to allow his critics to make sentiment for their views unless such sentiment comes from an unbiased discussion of the facts irrespective of what the antagonists of the league assert.”⁶ This calm, impartial attitude characterized this paper throughout the discussion and can be taken as typical of the many who considered the question seriously from all sides.

Absolutely opposed to the League was the *Dubuque Times-Journal*. Free discussion was necessary, it claimed, but the President was trying to forestall debate on “the most revolutionary proposal which has ever been suggested”. The treaty’s most vigorous opponent declared

⁴ *The Sioux City Journal*, February 11, 26, 27, 1919.

⁵ *The Sioux City Journal*, February 28, 1919.

⁶ *The Sioux City Journal*, February 26, 1919.

that all good citizens naturally desired universal peace, yet all plans that had been tried had proven unsuccessful and any new plan would require serious consideration. "This new plan proposes changes of most vital consequence to this nation. Our very sovereignty is involved, as well as the foreign policy of Washington, which has been confirmed and followed by every American president down to this day. . . . Surely patriotism and common sense demand that such a radical departure from all our American traditions should be made, if at all, only after most careful and deliberate consideration." ⁷

The alleged refusal of the President to permit discussion led to further attacks. In an editorial on the Lodge resolutions recommending rejection of the League, signed by thirty-seven Senators, the President was criticized for not calling a special session of the Senate and learning its attitude on the League before he returned to Paris to complete the final draft. Moreover, the charge was made that he was trying to silence criticism of his policies and because of this it was claimed that he would find it more difficult to secure favorable action than if he had permitted the Senate to debate it and had received suggestions from it. ⁸

Another act for which President Wilson was severely criticized, and by a paper which maintained a very fair attitude throughout the discussion, was his announcement that the treaty of peace, "by which order and stability is secured in Europe", and the League, the plan of the nations "to create an agency to prevent wars in the future", would be so bound together that they could not be separated. This, the *Sioux City Journal* claimed, was a mistake since the two were entirely different. "To tie the two together

⁷ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, February 17, 20, 25, 1919.

⁸ *The Sioux City Journal*, March 5, 1919.

so that one cannot survive without the other or so that both must fail because of opposition to one is not broad minded statecraft.” He had learned before he returned to Paris that changes were demanded in the League and, had he desired to be successful, he should have revised it. “He cannot afford to court disaster by forcing an issue in which the decision already has been made.”⁹ This statement was apparently supported by a statement in another paper that 95 per cent of the correspondence of the Senators who were opposing the League approved their stand.¹⁰

This opposition, it was claimed, would have serious consequences. The President had said in Paris that the League embodied American ideals, but the Senate had indicated that it would not ratify it as it stood. Because of this, Wilson’s “personal prestige is reduced and the influence of the nation handicapped . . . If this country is not prepared to back up its theories with responsibility . . . there is no reason why the desires of the country should be made paramount in the formation of the covenant”. To regain this position, the President would have to make the modifications demanded by the Senate and the people.¹¹

In answer to all these attacks the most ardent advocate of the League merely reëmphasized its claim that the people favored it and that the Senate oppositions would gain nothing. This opposition, according to the *Register*, was getting milder and would be still more so when the treaty was actually submitted to the Senate. It admitted that there would be a struggle inasmuch as the reaction to it was now at its height, but it apparently had no doubts as to the final outcome.¹²

⁹ *The Sioux City Journal*, March 12, 1919.

¹⁰ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, March 2, 1919.

¹¹ *The Sioux City Journal*, March 7, 1919.

¹² *The Des Moines Register*, March 11, 13, 15, 1919.

This optimism was supported by the fact that the Root amendments, formulated by the former Senator at the suggestion of the leaders of the Republican party, were consistent with those made at Paris, although they did not embody all the suggestions made by the opponents of the treaty. Root's letter suggesting these amendments was clearly an endorsement of the general principles of the League, and suggested a change of front on the part of the Republican leaders. The Root amendments included recognition of the Monroe Doctrine and provision for withdrawal from the League. Confidence was expressed that these amendments would be incorporated into the treaty.¹³

But the approval accorded the Root amendments also encouraged the opposition to the treaty. Its leading opponent rejoiced that the attempt to force the treaty upon the nation in its original "monstrous" form had been abandoned and claimed that through the widespread discussion of the League, the number of its advocates was growing less each day. It quoted Senator William S. Kenyon to the effect that Iowans in general would like to see the covenant amended so as to protect the Monroe Doctrine, to abolish the system of mandatories, so far as the United States was concerned, to make it easy for a nation to withdraw, and to provide other means for determining how the *status quo* of the world should be maintained. The Dubuque paper saw in the acceptance of the Root amendments the yielding to the public demand for discussion. "The important fact remains, however, and will not be forgotten, that the judgment of those men who tried to bull-doze the American people into approving this European scheme without giving them time for analysis or discussion is thoroughly discredited." ¹⁴

¹³ *The Des Moines Register*, April 1, 3, 1919.

¹⁴ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, April 6, 8, 1919.

On the day on which the final draft of the treaty was made public the League's strongest opponent published a quotation from Senator Harry S. New who described it as substituting a super-national government for a national government and the will of the President for the mandate of the Constitution, and insisted that the choice must be made. "Shall the senate", Senator New continued, "abdicate its judgment to the will of the president? To do so would be the honest abandonment of one of the very reasons for the creation of the senate."¹⁵ On the other hand, the League's strongest newspaper advocate in Iowa claimed that, although the first draft was defined and in a few places amplified, it was practically unchanged. This, it said, showed that the Root amendments were merely for clarification and that this was all that was needed to make it acceptable to the most severe critic.¹⁶

From these facts it appears that, at this stage of the discussion, the advocates of the treaty were confident that it would be finally accepted although they anticipated strong opposition. This opposition, they thought, was natural and not to be feared; it appeared in every new movement. But however strong it might be, they had no fear as to the outcome, considering it merely as the natural desire for discussion and for consideration of the question.¹⁷

The many objections to the manner in which the treaty was negotiated and to the President's refusal to permit the Senate to suggest amendments, combined with the objections to certain of the League's provisions and the doubt as to whether the American people really wanted it, expressed both by its opponent and one of its advocates, seemed to indicate that the fight ahead was to be a hard one and even

¹⁵ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, April 28, 1919.

¹⁶ *The Des Moines Register*, April 29, 1919.

¹⁷ *The Des Moines Register*, February 1, 1919.

in this early period cast a shadow of doubt upon the final ratification of the League covenant.¹⁸

But despite the vigor of this criticism the *Des Moines Register* appeared confident of ratification, although it could say no more than that the opposition to the League was growing weaker, and it even ventured the opinion that when the treaty was submitted to the Senate, opposition would be still weaker, an optimism that did not seem justified, since no evidence was offered. It admitted that the opposition was strong, but it appeared to have no doubt as to the outcome. The discussion, said the *Register*, was being prolonged unduly. Debate was necessary, but "let the American people thus early get in mind the distinction we all recognize between discussion and chewing the rag". A little later the *Register* apparently had some basis for this belief, since it insisted that a large share of the criticism had been silenced by the inclusion of the Root amendments in the covenant. The opposition, however, saw in these proposals a justification for their stand and a promise of more changes. "Its leading champions now say there will be amendments, of course, and the most extreme Tories admit it must be improved."¹⁹ Thus, each side interpreted the acceptance of the Root amendments as being favorable to it.

With the publication of the final draft of the treaty the debate became more specific, opponents objecting to certain definite provisions of the covenant and advocates answering these objections or pointing out the advantages of the pact. Up to this time the debate had centered around certain general provisions of the proposed League, but the

¹⁸ *The Des Moines Register*, February 17, 1919; *Dubuque Times-Journal*, February 25, March 2, April 6, 8, 1919; *The Sioux City Journal*, February 26, March 5, 1919.

¹⁹ *The Des Moines Register*, March 15, April 1, 3, 1919; *Dubuque Times-Journal*, April 6, 1919.

final draft offered material for a more detailed study, and consequently more definite arguments were used both for and against the treaty. This gave a renewed impetus to the discussion of several more fundamental topics, all of which were closely related to the discussion of the treaty as a whole.

THE PRESIDENT VERSUS THE SENATE

The first and most fundamental discussion had to do with the respective powers of the Senate and the President in treaty-making. The active participation of the President in the treaty-making and his apparent neglect of the Senate had early aroused criticism, and this criticism became stronger as the fight against the treaty gained impetus. As mentioned above, criticism had already been directed against him for his failure to ascertain the attitude of the Senate toward the treaty as a whole before he returned to Paris to complete the final draft.²⁰

This criticism was not based explicitly on the power of the Senate in treaty-making, but rather on expediency. As might be expected, the sides were clearly defined, the advocates of the treaty insisting that the President, in negotiating the treaty, had not exceeded his authority, and its opponents insisting on the right of the Senate to share in the negotiations.

The opponents of the President and of the League began the attack by criticising the secrecy with which the President had conducted the negotiations; he seemed, these critics claimed, to think that the negotiations were his own private business. The people of the United States, said the *Dubuque Times-Journal*, did not want to be mixed up in secret agreements. Later in the discussion the platform of the President, "Open covenants openly arrived at", was

²⁰ *The Sioux City Journal*, March 5, 1919.

quoted and he was charged with violating it by withholding information from the Senate and the American people.²¹

Critics of President Wilson charged that the foreign policy of the country was being dictated by one man. "Should the future welfare of a hundred millions of people be left to the judgment of one man?" The comment was made that the President was coming home not to consult Congress but to tell it what to do. Moreover, it was prophesied that the Senate would in all probability assert its rights and exercise its own judgment, a prophecy which proved to be correct. "The senate", declared this editorial, "is a break-water which is guarding us from an inundation of emotionalism."²²

On May 5, 1919, the same paper charged very definitely that an attempt was being made to force the Senate to adopt the treaty without change. It asserted that the President did not have sole authority in making treaties and made the claim that he was not supporting the Constitution. "How much President Wilson thinks of this provision of the constitution he has sworn to uphold is shown by the fact that he did not have even one representative of the senate accompany him to Paris. In this case there is at least one person who does not think much of the words, 'the advice and consent of the senate' ". This opinion regarding the rights of the Senate was repeated in a comment on the fact that a well-organized plan was under way to lessen senatorial power, a move, it said, which should be resisted by every good citizen, since the Senate had, under the Constitution, certain rights which should be upheld.²³

The defenders of the President were no less ardent and sincere in advocating their position. The day after the

²¹ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, February 15, August 17, 1919.

²² *Dubuque Times-Journal*, February 20, 22, 26, 1919.

²³ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, June 17, 1919.

Round Robin opposing the League appeared in the Senate (March 4, 1919), the *Des Moines Register* claimed that the purpose of this declaration was not the defeat of the League but that it was inspired by a desire on the part of the Senate to have some share in making the treaty, a practice which, it insisted, was warranted neither by the Constitution nor by usage. This paper continued to insist that the Senate does not have equal power with the President in negotiating treaties and that, in fact, it has nothing to do with a treaty until the President has negotiated it.²⁴

As the discussion went on, these statements were repeated, and just before the President started on his trip through the country to appeal to the people, the *Register* insisted that Americans must remember three things, two of which bore directly on this discussion: (1) that the President acted within his legal authority; (2) that the draft he brought back was the best one possible and was the product of the best minds; and (3) that the presidency was a growing institution and had constantly grown more important and that this fact must be recognized.²⁵

In reply to the third point the *Dubuque Times-Journal* made the comment that the same argument was used to justify the usurpations that changed the Roman Republic into the Roman Empire, that it was the same one that Napoleon used to justify his assumption of power, and that it was the first step that leads to imperialism.²⁶

As the debate progressed and it became apparent that the Senate would insist on some share in formulating the provisions of the treaty, the advocates of the President's stand repeated the assertion that the Constitution had put international affairs into the hands of the Chief Executive

²⁴ *The Des Moines Register*, March 5, 6, 1919.

²⁵ *The Des Moines Register*, June 12, September 1, 1919.

²⁶ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, September 3, 1919.

and that custom had increased these powers.²⁷ Immediately preceding the vote on the treaty that led to its first rejection, the *Register* insisted that the Senate was trying to take away power from the President and give it to itself. The situation in which the Senate found itself at that time, the *Register* argued, showed its inability to deal with international affairs, and a direct attack was made on the Senate for its dilatory action. "Who believes for a minute that we should ever have announced the Monroe doctrine if before anything was done a joint vote of both houses of congress had been necessary?" This "raid on the presidency — not on President Wilson, but on the presidential office — is not in line with American progress, is not in line with republican precedent, is not in line with either patriotism or good common sense."²⁸

It seems reasonable to suppose that this discussion of the respective powers of the President and of the Senate was prompted, not by a desire to interpret the Constitution and to follow custom, but rather to find means of supporting or opposing the treaty. No arguments were used nor were any cases cited, the papers contenting themselves with merely asserting their stand. It is noteworthy that the only paper that upheld the claim of the Senate was the one that actively opposed the League,²⁹ although another paper criticized the President's actions in ignoring the Senate on the ground that it was not expedient to do so rather than on the ground that it was not in accordance with the Constitution.³⁰

It is also of interest to note that there was objection to the ratification of the treaty on the ground that it was not

²⁷ *The Des Moines Register*, November 22, 1919.

²⁸ *The Des Moines Register*, November 18, 1919.

²⁹ *Dubuque Times-Journal*.

³⁰ *The Sioux City Journal*, March 5, 1919.

right for one man to dictate the foreign policy of the country and to force his opinions upon the Senate without giving it an opportunity to express its opinions and to assume its proper share in the negotiations.³¹ The people, it was claimed, regarded the Senate as representing them and wished to have some share in the negotiations through their representatives. The advocates of the treaty apparently considered that this question of constitutional interpretation had been settled and did not think it sufficiently important to justify any comment. At any rate, the criticism made in the *Dubuque Times-Journal* on February 15th remained unanswered and it was not until the appearance of the Round Robin in the Senate on March 4th that the President's supporters came to the defense of his actions.

After the vote was taken and the treaty was rejected the first time, no further comments were made on this question. Apparently both sides accepted the verdict that, whether the Senate should or should not have had a voice in the making of the treaty, it did have a right to say whether it should be accepted or rejected after it had been drawn up.

PARTISANSHIP IN THE DEBATE

This discussion concerning the relation between the President and the Senate in treaty-making was complicated by another factor. At the election in the previous year the Republicans had gained a majority in the Senate and, in spite of the fact that all papers claimed that the treaty should not be made a partisan matter, the charge was often made that the opposition in the Senate was due to politics rather than to any actual objections to the treaty, and that both sides were appealing to the people as political parties rather than on the basis of the treaty as such.

As might be expected, these charges were first made by

³¹ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, February 22, 1919.

the paper which favored the League. Although it was a Republican paper, the *Des Moines Register* praised the President for taking the lead in world organization and insisted that he was at Versailles as the representative of the United States and not of the Democratic party. It claimed that the Republican Senators were opposing him only because of politics and not because they were actually opposed to the treaty.³² Thus, very early in the discussions, the advocates of the treaty brought in the charge of politics, perhaps in an attempt to minimize the Senate's objections, and it is noticeable that during the early period references to partisanship came only from advocates of the League. This charge of politics they repeated several times, claiming that the Republicans were trying to delay action so that the treaty could be made a national issue, and that the Republicans thought it necessary to discredit the President if the election was to be won. This would be a great mistake on the part of Republicans, the treaty's leading advocate thought, since there would in that case be little doubt as to the outcome. On what issue, it was asked, would the Democrats have "one tenth part the advantage they would have in that debate?" On domestic issues the Republicans would no doubt be on more favorable ground.³³

However, the *Register* reversed its stand later, saying that the ratification of the treaty was not a party issue, since the Root amendments had taken the League out of politics, and for that reason it would be political suicide for the Republicans to make a party issue of it, since there was great enthusiasm for the League among the people.³⁴

The same paper later insisted that the Senators should recognize the popularity of the President's stand. "We

³² *The Des Moines Register*, February 4, 1919.

³³ *The Des Moines Register*, March 11, 23, 1919.

³⁴ *The Des Moines Register*, May 12, 1919.

fought for world ends and he calls upon us to achieve world ends. He does not propose that we shall be smaller in results than in effort." The Senators should realize, the editor of the *Register* continued, "that the impulse that carried us into the war not to save ourselves but to save the civilization of which we are a part will not fail us now the opportunity has come to make our victory secure. It is not because the league covenant is perfect, it is not that the future is all plain sailing with it, it is not that we shall have no further problems, when these are gone, it is that to turn back is to turn back into an impossible past, from which for centuries we have longed to escape and from which today the league covenant opens a door." ³⁵

The *Sioux City Journal*, another Republican newspaper and a rather unenthusiastic advocate of the League, also insisted that such momentous questions as that of the treaty and the League should not be considered in the light of politics but on the basis of merit. In spite of the President's shortcomings and mistakes, said this editor, "he has brought home a product which the government can accept with confidence and which the people in general will approve." ³⁶

This paper, however, later expressed the fear that the President's tour of the country would tend to make the ratification or rejection of the treaty a matter of partisan interest and placed the blame for this upon him in these words: "It looks as though the contest will result in the alignment of the advocates and opponents of the treaty in two hostile camps with the dead line between them more distinctly marked than it has been. The alignment will be more partisan than before. If the president had been less a partisan in the conduct of the war and the negotiations

³⁵ *The Des Moines Register*, July 11, 1919.

³⁶ *The Sioux City Journal*, July 9, 1919.

of peace than he was, partisanship would not be as much stirred as it will be by his appeal to the people. The partisan support of the president's position by the members of his party, especially the windy mouthings of the chairman of the national democratic committee, has not tended to destroy the belief that the president and his party are playing for partisan advantages, no matter how unfounded the basis may be. This sentiment will be aroused and intensified by the speech making tour."³⁷

The *Sioux City Journal* also pointed out a grave danger to the League in this act of the President. Many of his opponents had supported the treaty because they believed in the League. "Some of these supporters may surrender their views if it becomes apparent that the controversy is to become bitterly partisan."³⁸ Thus the accusation was turned from the Republicans to the Democrats and each side claimed that the other was attempting to make it a party issue.

This opinion was shared by the *Dubuque Times-Journal*. It had insisted early in the discussion that the League would not become a party issue because some of the Democrats were already opposing it, notably Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, and because the real reasons for the opposition were deeper, for the League entangled the United States in European quarrels. This objection, it claimed, was not partisanship but patriotism. However, it soon changed its opinion and claimed that the Democrats were making a party issue out of the League and were forcing some Democratic Senators to support it against their will.³⁹

This belief it repeated nearly a month later, asserting that many Democrats were rebelling against the autocratic

³⁷ *The Sioux City Journal*, August 29, 1919.

³⁸ *The Sioux City Journal*, August 29, 1919.

³⁹ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, June 20, July 5, 20, 1919.

leadership of the President and that the Democratic papers, rather than advocate the treaty against their will, were maintaining silence. A short time later, it charged the President directly with making the treaty a party issue through his opposition to the slightest change in the League and his insistence on no reservations. It still insisted that it was not a partisan matter, yet it claimed that the Republicans opposed the League because they knew that the sentiment of the country was against it. "While the desire for a league is practically universal, the Republican party cannot be blind to the fact that there is the most profound lack of confidence in the Paris covenant."⁴⁰

Some evidence verifying this belief was given on February 28, 1920, by the *Dubuque Times-Journal* in answer to the argument that Wilson's reelection in 1916 showed that the people approved his plans. It stated in reply that the campaign in 1916 was fought on the proposition that Wilson kept the country out of war and that the League was not an issue; but in the Congressional election of 1918 the people had before them the President's policy on international questions as well as his request to return a Democratic Congress as an endorsement of his policies. In spite of this request, the people elected a Republican majority in both houses, a result which the supporters of the League had consistently overlooked, even the President himself evidently not understanding its significance.

The charge of partisanship was repeated after the first rejection of the treaty on November 19, 1919, the *Des Moines Register* again insisting that Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was still determined to defeat the treaty and to make it an issue of a national campaign. It also expressed the opinion that no new international policy could be inaugurated until a new administration came into power, and it

⁴⁰ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, August 15, September 1, 1919.

charged that the insistence of Elihu Root on new amendments, after the first ones he had offered had been adopted, was due to political partisanship and to the desire on the part of the Republicans to discredit the President.⁴¹

Thus, although each side continually insisted that the League should not be made a political matter, supporters and opponents constantly accused the other side of drawing it into politics. In one respect it was not a strictly political question since several Democratic Senators opposed the League and several Republican newspapers advocated it, the statement being made that eight of the leading Republican papers of Iowa were in favor of the League.⁴²

The charge of politics was later withdrawn, at least temporarily, when the Root amendments were accepted as embodying in general the Republican demands, although even then the chief Iowa advocate of the League still insisted upon speaking of possible Republican opposition.⁴³ The *Dubuque Times-Journal*, from the very first, had insisted that the League would not become a party issue; the real reasons were deeper. It maintained that attitude until the President, by his refusal to accept reservations, had intensified the party spirit, when it too made the charge of politics.⁴⁴ The advocates of the treaty insisted until the very last that its defeat was due to politics intensified, perhaps, by the traditional hostility between the President and the Senate. In criticising the change in the attitude of Elihu Root, the *Register* added, "The natural corollary of the Root program is to be found in the last plank of his proposed platform: 'Universal military training.' " ⁴⁵

⁴¹ *The Des Moines Register*, December 4, 1919, February 21, 1920.

⁴² *The Sioux City Journal*, November 1, 1919.

⁴³ *The Des Moines Register*, July 11, 1919.

⁴⁴ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, July 5, September 1, 1919.

⁴⁵ *The Des Moines Register*, February 21, 1920.

PERSONALITIES

The charges of partisanship were indirectly the cause of another phase of the debate — the exchange of personalities and attacks upon the leaders on both sides. The discussion concerning the treaty was no exception to this rule, since it called forth a number of comments upon the characters, the abilities, and the motives of the leaders in the discussion, each side naturally attacking the leaders of the other side.

In this exchange of personalities Iowa newspapers again took a leading part. The *Des Moines Register* early in the discussions found opportunity to refer to the criticism then being directed against the President and to say that if the League was not as strong as it should be, the blame would be upon the reactionaries and not upon him. It also charged some of his opponents with inconsistency because they objected to the use of American troops in other countries under a provision of the League, although they had voted to send them abroad during the World War.⁴⁶

This newspaper also made the charge that certain Senators had been willing to join Europe in war but were not willing to join her in peace. "When shall we be as ready to protect ourselves against the evil as we are to remedy the evil after it has fallen?" In another editorial the *Register* warned prophetically, "There will be no neutrals in the next world war." It attacked the Senate for its criticism of the President in that it first said that he was stubborn and refused to compromise and later said that he compromised too much. The *Register* had, very early in the discussion, claimed that the actions of the Senate were dominated by opposition to the President rather than by real objections to the treaty, and it continued to repeat this charge.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ *The Des Moines Register*, February 7, 9, 25, 1919.

⁴⁷ *The Des Moines Register*, February 25, March 21, August 10, 11, 24, 1919.

The *Des Moines Register* early concentrated its attack upon Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, claiming that he was no statesman, that he was lacking even in veracity, that his leadership was blundering, that he had never been considered a leader even in his home State, but had set himself up as one in this discussion, and it prophesied that the people soon would get tired of his leadership especially when he objected to Article X as a means of keeping the peace of the world. "The world ought to be sick and tired of a leadership that is suspicious of world policemen to keep the peace, but first to call for armies and navies when the peace is broken. Is America going longer to follow that leadership?"⁴⁸

But Senator Lodge was not the only opponent of the treaty to be attacked. The *Des Moines Register* went even further and attacked the Senate as a whole. As early as February 8, 1919, it claimed that the talk in Congress had been hysterical, intemperate, and largely given over to personalities, and on March 17, 1920, near the end of the debate, it referred to the low level of Senatorial arguments upon the substitute for Article X, saying that it could hardly believe that such a debate could happen in the greatest deliberative assembly in the world. The editorial read in part as follows:

"Whatever may come of the whole business, America will need a long time to live down in the good opinion of the world the bad impression the senate debate over the peace treaty has created, a debate that has run on interminably without bringing out one utterance of distinction, without disclosing one great man in the senate."⁴⁹

The personalities indulged in by the opponents of the

⁴⁸ *The Des Moines Register*, November 22, 26, December 2, 1919, March 14, 1920.

⁴⁹ March 17, 1920.

treaty were confined mostly to criticism of the way in which it has been negotiated. The President was accused of betraying his oath of office, the Constitution, the cause of justice, and the cause of man. The statement was later made that the people were expected to follow blindly the leadership of a man in whom they were beginning to lose confidence, and this same paper, on May 7, 1919, rather ironically printed under the heading, "Lest We Forget" the following: " 'The United States has no desire to interfere in European affairs or to act as arbiter in European territorial disputes.'—

"This doctrine was communicated by President Wilson to a joint session of the two houses of congress on February 11, 1918." ⁵⁰

This exchange of personalities was based chiefly upon the method of negotiating the treaty and the attempt to force ratification by the Senate, as well as upon the Senate's objection to this attempt. It developed chiefly out of the struggle between the President and the Senate over the treaty. It was, therefore, only a secondary development, and had little influence upon the formation of public opinion.

THE PROVISIONS OF THE LEAGUE

It was natural that the specific provisions of the treaty should come in for the largest share of public discussion. A number of arguments were used both for and against the ratification of the treaty, but only a few were of real importance.

Among some of the more important arguments in favor of ratification were the following: the need for support of the League on patriotic and moral grounds irrespective of party, since the President was trying to bring about a permanent peace; the opportunity which the League offered

⁵⁰ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, April 15, May 29, August 14, 1919.

to promote disarmament even though it did not in itself provide a system of adjudication; the means it offered to prevent aggression; and the fact that it was a vindication of a "war against war". "The freedom of France from the overhanging pall of 'the next great war,' as well as the freedom of Great Britain and of America, is not in fixing boundaries against anybody, but it is in so organizing the institutions of government as to secure a judicial adjustment of the differences that arise between peoples." The League was also advocated because it was a great forward step, "the culmination of the efforts of the organizing races of the world."⁵¹

The *Dubuque Times-Journal*, on the other hand, brought into the debate very early the question of expense. It claimed that participation in the League would involve the United States unfairly in great expense. "In the European league, the plan seems to be that the United States furnish all the assets and the other members all the liabilities. This ought to be fair enough for anybody, and yet there are a few old fogies, a thousand years behind the times, who can't see it."⁵²

Evidently as a reply to this exaggerated claim, the chief newspaper advocate of the League replied that the cost to arm the United States if the League were defeated would be far greater than the part the United States would have to pay in policing the world. It insisted that "international organization, and American support of a world union, is the only guaranty on which the people of Europe will return to a life of orderly industrial activity." Later, when the opposition was gaining strength, the *Register* again insisted on this. "The alternative of the league of nations is an armed America", it asserted. "The senators who are sav-

⁵¹ *The Des Moines Register*, February 7, 15, April 2, May 5, October 13, 1919.

⁵² *Dubuque Times-Journal*, March 11, 1919.

ing us from the league power are fixing upon us the most disastrous yoke ever put upon the neck of a free people." Subsequent events have shown that this was not an exaggerated statement. This argument was evidently considered a strong one, since it was given great emphasis. The Dubuque paper failed to make any answer to it.

Almost prophetic of 1941 is the following statement: "So many good people are counselling the defeat of the Paris covenant, as though with that out of the way, there would be nothing for the United States but an untroubled future in the old lines of 'splendid isolation'. When shall we learn that this war has wholly changed the American relation to the world, that no matter what is done with the league of nations, whether we join with the great nations in forming a league or do not join, our future is cast in with theirs in a way so intimate as to determine our fortunes whether or no." ⁵³

There was also mention of the peace terms, the Dubuque paper claiming that the punishment of Germany was too severe since it extended to future generations.⁵⁴ A few days after this attack appeared, the *Des Moines Register* also discussed the peace terms in reply to a German inspired accusation that the treaty was a Punic one. It replied that the original Punic settlement was intended to wipe out all possibility of Carthage ever becoming a great power. The present treaty, however, was an attempt to make peace permanent, not to wipe out Germany, the theory of human rights having inspired the present treaty, whereas this sentiment had no part in the wars against Carthage.⁵⁵

Another objection to the treaty and one which was emphasized by many opponents was the belief that other

⁵³ *The Des Moines Register*, March 14, September 10, 1919.

⁵⁴ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, May 13, 1919.

⁵⁵ *The Des Moines Register*, May 27, 1919.

countries were opposed to it, or at least were suspicious of it. This was but a passing phase, however, as all the editorials on this subject were written in a space of ten days, and hence this cannot be considered a strong argument. The *Outlook*, of London, was quoted as calling the treaty "an elaborate and resounding futility",⁵⁶ and it was claimed that neutral countries were opposed to the League or were at least suspicious of it.⁵⁷ A few days later, the *Dubuque Times-Journal* went even further and said that the treaty had no friend the world over. "The French don't believe in it. It is laughed down when it is mentioned in the House of Commons. The European press of all shades of opinion treats it with the utmost contempt as a miserable makeshift to secure the spoils of an imperialistic peace to the victors."⁵⁸ As can easily be seen, this paper was exaggerating the situation, since the subsequent action of other countries toward the League clearly shows that their attitudes toward it were not as this paper would have had its readers believe. The advocates of the League evidently considered that this argument was unimportant for they gave no answer to it.

Furthermore this newspaper, early in the discussion,⁵⁹ objected to the League on the ground that it would interfere with the settlement of internal questions of the United States, especially immigration. In this way it appealed to the "Americanism" of its readers in its fight against the treaty. On July 26, 1919, under the heading "The Issue Is America", it urged the treaty's defeat, saying that such a treaty might mean "the defeat of everything that straight Americans hold dear." Here again this paper was follow-

⁵⁶ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, July 16, 1919.

⁵⁷ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, July 19, 1919.

⁵⁸ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, July 25, 1919.

⁵⁹ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, March 21, 1919.

ing the method so often used, that of emotional appeal, rather than reason, and again there was no reply from the advocates of the treaty, evidently because of the obvious weakness of the argument.

A more valid argument was evidently anticipated by the *Des Moines Register* when it denied that the League was unconstitutional, saying that that question had been settled when troops were sent to Europe. This could be justified, it claimed, on the ground that it meant doing only what our best interests dictated.⁶⁰ However, another Iowa paper, an advocate of the League, later questioned the constitutionality of the League on the ground that it would limit armies, even though the second amendment to the Constitution gave the States the right to maintain militia which would become a Federal force in time of war. This right, it claimed, could be abridged by no treaty, and if the League were ratified "the United States would be bound by two equally supreme but antagonistic laws, its own constitution and that of the league of nations."⁶¹

Eleven days later, the same paper again referred to the constitutionality of the League, quoting William Jennings Bryan as favorable to it, but yet as seeing dangers in it as proposed. "In the latter position he stands with former President Taft and thousands of other citizens in private life who are advocates of the league but who are not willing to accept without question a plan which may destroy the rights of American citizens by destroying the things guaranteed to them under the constitution of the nation." Inasmuch as these were the only references to the constitutionality of the League which were found, it was evidently not considered a very important question by either side and was taken for granted, although serious objections

⁶⁰ *The Des Moines Register*, February 20, 1919.

⁶¹ *The Sioux City Journal*, March 3, 1919.

along that line were raised by its opponents, not regarding it, however, as opposed to any fundamental articles of the Constitution, but rather to its general spirit and the custom of the country.

Objection was also raised to the use of American troops for international police duty in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and the claim was made that many people were asking why it should be necessary. If American nations could look after their troubles, Europe should be able to do the same. The Dubuque paper ⁶² referred to the possibility of the conscription of Americans for service in an international police force under the League, an objection suggested by one of Taft's speeches. When the final draft of the League was made public and it was discovered that no provision for such a force had been inserted, this argument was dropped.

Another argument of the opposition was answered by the *Des Moines Register* later in the discussion. It pointed out that the six votes given to England's possessions would not affect the power of the United States in the League, since the Council, which was required to ratify every important decision, was to be composed of the representatives of the nine great powers, each power having one vote, and that its effective decisions must be unanimous. Moreover, it insisted that this was to the advantage of the dominions and not to Great Britain and that the United States would find more common interests among the British dominions than England would. "The blindest mistake Americans could make would be to disparage the ambitions of the branches of the English speaking race".⁶³

The mandate system, to which objection could easily have been raised, was discussed very little. Early in the debate

⁶² *Dubuque Times-Journal*, July 13, 1919.

⁶³ *The Des Moines Register*, September 17, October 11, 1919.

the question was raised as to whether that system was better than the old method of protectorate or annexation, and whether the American people really wanted it,⁶⁴ but outside of that there appeared to be but little objection to it as such. The *Des Moines Register*, in reply to the objections of some people on the ground that it would be an added burden and expense, claimed that it was proposed merely to help backward peoples. It argued that a precedent had already been set, that this country had interfered in Europe and if it was unconstitutional to accept mandates under the League, we were holding the Philippines contrary to the Constitution and had paid Spain \$20,000,000 for the privilege.⁶⁵

A question of greater importance was that concerning the Monroe Doctrine. This question also arose early in the debate, before the treaty was submitted to the Senate. The leading defender of the treaty insisted soon after the debate started that the League did not abolish the Monroe Doctrine, but merely extended its provisions to Europe. The Monroe Doctrine merely insisted upon the governmental integrity of the states of the western hemisphere, just what the League insisted upon for the whole world.⁶⁶

Another paper, which in general approved the League, expressed the opposite opinion, claiming that it did conflict with the Monroe Doctrine. This paper objected to the extension of the Monroe Doctrine to Europe on the ground that this would be absurd since by its very provisions, it applied only to American governments. It could not be applied to the colonization of American countries in Europe nor to interference with American governments in any continent except the Americas. "If the United States is

⁶⁴ *The Sioux City Journal*, February 6, 11, 1919.

⁶⁵ *The Des Moines Register*, March 9, 1919.

⁶⁶ *The Des Moines Register*, March 18, 1919.

to apply the doctrine to the old world, which seems to be the idea of those who so contend, it will have to prevent non-colonization [sic] and non-interference with governments in all parts of the earth, and thus become the protector and policeman for all nations.”

This Sioux City paper expressed the opinion that it would be better to abandon the Monroe Doctrine entirely than to keep it alive by illogical declarations “and have it brought into conflict with and destroyed by the adoption of another doctrine which leaves this country impotent to assert the rights it has asserted under the old policy and unable to decide, on its own initiative, which is the germ of the Monroe Doctrine, the course it shall pursue if either of the two principles of the old doctrine is violated.”⁶⁷

Even after the Monroe Doctrine was recognized in the League covenant there were objections. The assertion was made that it would be recognized only as long as it was consistent with the League provisions, and if any dispute should arise as to its meaning it would be settled by the League and not by the United States. This meant that it would be interpreted by a council of nine, one American and eight foreigners. There were emphatic protests against the “abandonment” of this Doctrine. An editorial in the *Dubuque Times-Journal* read in part as follows: “It was expressly designed as a preserver of liberty and the American people have never chosen peace at the sacrifice of liberty. Whenever any other nation tries to extend its jurisdiction to the western hemisphere, the Monroe Doctrine becomes a basis for war. We shall not concede Mr. Wilson’s contention that the doctrine should be abandoned when its maintenance is most desired.”⁶⁸

Thus, although one defender of the League insisted that

⁶⁷ *The Sioux City Journal*, March 18, 1919.

⁶⁸ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, May 2, 24, 1919.

the treaty meant merely the extension of the Monroe Doctrine to Europe, another, and with much show of reason, admitted that this could not be done because of its very provisions. This paper preferred the abandonment of the Doctrine to its inclusion in the League covenant.⁶⁹ Another editor preferred the Monroe Doctrine to participation in the League, since its very acceptance by the League meant that the American Doctrine became subordinate to it and would be interpreted by its officers.⁷⁰ It is also interesting to note that the paper that emphasized "Americanism" so strongly was the one that insisted on the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine as a vital necessity.⁷¹ Although not mentioned very often in the debate, the discussion of the Monroe Doctrine brought out important truths and no doubt had considerable effect, especially on account of its appeal to Americanism.

Another of the strong objections to the League was concerned with the provisions giving the German rights in Shantung to Japan. The *Dubuque Times-Journal*, the League's strongest opponent, began on May 17, 1919, to protest against this provision, and between this date and August 5th, when the last reference was made to it, it carried five editorials on the subject, each with a slightly different content but all bearing on the injustice of the transfer. It claimed that the Peace Conference gave away the rights, not of Germany, but of China, called the League, in the light of the Shantung settlement, a "League of Force for the Perpetration and Perpetuation of International Injustice", and prophesied that the American people would never agree to such an unjust provision. It quoted Senator Hiram Johnson to the effect that the Shantung settlement

⁶⁹ *The Des Moines Register* and *The Sioux City Journal*, March 18, 1919.

⁷⁰ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, May 3, 1919.

⁷¹ *Dubuque Times-Journal*.

“violated not only every word that had been spoken by us concerning the peace but it violated every principle of fairness, justice, and honor.” It referred ironically to this settlement as the result of the “idealism” with which the Conference started, and called it a piece of scoundrelism in which an ally [China] was despoiled and her rights ignored. This, asserted the Dubuque paper, was the price paid by the President to Japan for the support of his “holy covenant”.⁷²

Nor were opponents of the League the only ones who objected to this provision. The *Sioux City Journal*, one of its supporters, came out clearly with the statement that the people disliked the Shantung settlement. It called it one of the few features to which objection could be made and said, “The people who talk of having all national wrongs righted cannot understand why Japan is allowed to retain nominal control over the Shantung peninsula against the protests of China.” Later it asserted: “There is no moral defense of the Shantung agreement. The only question is whether the benefits of the treaty as a whole are not sufficient to the world, and even to China, to make the acceptance of the Shantung provision advisable in the common good.”⁷³

To all these attacks the *Des Moines Register* made only one reply. Why, it asked, had there been no objection on the part of the protesting Senators when Germany seized Shantung originally, and it insisted that what was given to Japan was only what Germany already had, and it added that the League would prevent any such seizure in the future.⁷⁴ This appears to be one case where silence was eloquent, since this defender was always extremely careful

⁷² *Dubuque Times-Journal*, May 17, 23, June 10, 21, August 5, 1919.

⁷³ *The Sioux City Journal*, July 16, October 10, 1919.

⁷⁴ *The Des Moines Register*, July 17, 1919.

to answer any serious objections, even in some cases anticipating them. Thus it appears that this was the only objection to the League to which all agreed.

ARTICLE X

Although the Shantung cession was admitted to be a mistake and could therefore have been emphasized by the opponents of the League more than it was, there was one provision which received even more attention. That was the famous Article X which bound the signatories of the League to guarantee the existing political independence and territorial integrity of each other against external aggression.

The *Des Moines Register* opened the defense of the article on March 27, 1919, in a reply to an objection that it pledged the signers to protect the territorial integrity of each other, and, so the reasoning went, since the settlements of the treaty would probably be imperialistic, it would result in a league against democracy. To this objection the *Register* replied, with apparently sound reasoning, that an imperialistic settlement would be a violation of the treaty spirit and that its supporters were advocating the treaty because it removed the dangers of imperialism rather than added to them. Moreover, it went on to say, without such a guaranty as Article X gave, no nation would forego any imperialistic advantage, since only in that would security lie. Therefore, the editorial concluded that on the basis of the treaty as a whole, the opposition to this article was not justified.

Nevertheless, the *Register* declared, this article would be the center of the opposition, since there were many mistaken ideas about it. It again insisted that the League was a guaranty of the protection of popular rights and that it could not be used to enforce the bondage of certain groups,

and hence could not be used to strengthen imperialism. This editorial emphasized the need for fixed and definite boundaries and asked what better method could be presented to accomplish this than by deciding disputes over boundaries and then guaranteeing the territorial integrity of each nation.⁷⁵

After Secretary Robert Lansing's appearance before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations where he explained the meaning of this article, the *Register* claimed that the difficulties had been cleared up by his emphasis on the words "external aggression". It insisted that it was nothing more than a ban on wars of conquest. "Is there anybody in the United States who does not believe the time has come for the nations to say that wars of conquest must cease? Is there anybody who can think of any other way to say it and make it effective than in precisely such a covenant as the nations through their governments have found?" It later insisted that it contained no guaranty of existing political institutions against internal reforms but merely made impossible a war of aggression. This article was, it claimed, the keystone in the whole arch of world organization and was necessary if the smaller states of Europe were to prosper.⁷⁶ "Senator Cummins begs the whole question when he says we are asked to guarantee that existing governments are the best we shall ever see. . . . We do not commit ourselves to methods of farming when we secure to the farmer the title to his land."

The opposition to this article centered around the assertion that it would involve maintaining existing political organizations by force, although the League's advocates insisted that Article X did not mean this, laying the stress on the words "external aggression". The principal objec-

⁷⁵ *The Des Moines Register*, May 6, 1919.

⁷⁶ *The Des Moines Register*, August 13, November 13, 1919.

tion cited by the *Dubuque Times-Journal* was that American troops could be called upon to put down rebellions in other countries. It claimed that this provision was an obligation to preserve Japanese despotism in Korea, and British despotism in the possessions of the empire, and added that if such a proposition had been followed a hundred and fifty years ago there would have been no Revolutionary War, that South America would still have been under Spain and the Balkans under Turkey. It added, in its characteristic way, that if Article X was the backbone of the League, as the President said it was, the backbone must be broken.⁷⁷

This argument was used so often that the *Des Moines Register* was led to comment on it rather fully. Why, the *Register* asked, were England and Japan singled out so often as the countries whose territorial integrity Article X would guarantee? A little thought would show that these were the only countries which were *not* threatened with external aggression. Article X, it again insisted, was a promise to the little states and not to the big ones.⁷⁸

Despite these arguments, the *Dubuque Times-Journal* as late as shortly before the final rejection of the Versailles Treaty on March 19, 1920, insisted that Article X meant that the territorial integrity of the British Empire would have to be defended with American blood and money if the League should be ratified. In its usual exaggerated manner which often delighted in striking effects, it said that every American mother could think that her son might be called upon to pay the supreme sacrifice in order that Britain might preserve the territorial integrity of her conquests in war.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, April 2, August 21, 1919.

⁷⁸ November 20, 1919.

⁷⁹ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, March 2, 1920.

The dispute over Article X was carried on from two directly opposite points of view, a fact that profoundly affected the debate. Its defenders, insisting that it was the backbone of the League, emphasized the term "external aggression", and insisted that it was designed merely as a protection to the small states and as a preventive of wars of aggression. This, they claimed, was absolutely essential to any scheme for maintaining the peace of the world. "What Article X commits the league to, and all it commits the league to, is the perpetual disallowing of wars of aggression waged against member states for the purpose of violating (1) the territorial integrity or (2) the political independence of a member state." It did not apply, these papers insisted, to political changes within the countries, such as rebellions against the government and the like, but was designed merely to prevent one country from attacking and annexing all or part of another country. As such it was one of the most important means of preserving peace.⁸⁰

Article X was considered by all, and rightly so, as the fundamental provision of the League of Nations, and for this reason it was discussed more than any other article. Its acceptance depended upon the renunciation on the part of the United States of its traditional policy of non-interference in European affairs, and for those who upheld this policy, it was a strong argument against the League, because such an agreement would involve the United States in European disputes. This fundamental argument on Article X, therefore, was whether the United States should give up its traditional policy, and it was upon this that there was a real difference of opinion, although this line of cleavage was concealed in many cases by other arguments. There could have been, by its very nature, no agreement on this article, since it represented the basic principle involved

⁸⁰ *The Des Moines Register*, August 13, October 21, 1919.

in the dispute, that of national isolation *versus* internationalism, a difference which allowed no compromise and which caused the long fight over this article and finally the rejection of the treaty.

THE LEAGUE BEFORE THE PEOPLE

During all of these discussions the American people were following with interest all of the arguments on both sides and no doubt many persons were influenced by them. The *Des Moines Register*, which had made the statement at the beginning of the discussion that it was natural that there would be opposition but that the League would win, maintained that attitude throughout the discussion and would not admit defeat until the very end. The *Dubuque Times-Journal*, however, a little later insisted that the opposition to the League in Iowa was strong and asserted that the Senators opposing the League were getting a great deal of mail, nearly all of which approved their stand.⁸¹

As the fight in the Senate grew more severe the charge of insincerity was also made against the advocates of the treaty in that they claimed that opposition to the League in its present form meant opposition to all attempts to promote peace. And yet, the Dubuque paper said, "It should be said to the credit of the men who use this argument that they don't believe it themselves, but realize that straightforward defense of the un-American provisions in that covenant would not be convincing." A little later the *Times-Journal* again expressed its belief that the majority of the people were opposed to the League. It insisted, however, that every citizen should form an opinion about it, although it added, "Whatever the result may be, we hope that there will be men who having the courage of their convictions,

⁸¹ *The Des Moines Register*, May 5, 1919; *Dubuque Times-Journal*, June 4, 1919.

will not allow the best traditions of their country to be betrayed to an impossible idealism.”⁸²

At the time of the submission of the treaty to the Senate its most faithful newspaper defender made no comment whatever on the President's message, evidently not considering it of sufficient importance. Another advocate, however, though one which was not as ardent as the former, gave an impartial analysis of it, in its usual calm, judicial way. It noted as significant that the President's message was almost entirely a defense of the League, and it made the comment that President Wilson realized that it would be the League provisions which would arouse discussion and opposition and not those of the treaty of peace as such. Yet it questioned if the message was of much importance. “It is questionable if the address changed a senatorial vote. It will have a large influence in molding public opinion among the people. Whether that opinion will run towards the league or against it, depends upon a careful and critical analysis of the text of the treaty itself. The people will look more to the actual text of the document than to the declarations of its supporters or critics, for the foundation of their judgment.”⁸³

The *Dubuque Times-Journal*, in its characteristic attitude of opposition to anything contrary to the country's established policy of isolation, insisted that the United States stood at the parting of the ways. The President was asking the country to abandon permanently its historic foreign policy and to enter an offensive and defensive alliance, and he was asking it to do this without having had an opportunity to consider the policy. This paper insisted that the League must be carefully considered.⁸⁴

⁸² *Dubuque Times-Journal*, June 24, 29, 1919.

⁸³ *The Sioux City Journal*, July 11, 1919.

⁸⁴ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, July 11, 1919.

The next day the *Sioux City Journal*, realizing the significance of the occasion, stated its belief that the majority of the people were for ratification of the treaty without amendment or reservation. This nation, it asserted, could no longer ignore the relations that nations have with one another, a fact which the war clearly showed. The League was largely a moral agreement "the beginning of an understanding of peace. It contains no provisions which endanger the institutions of this country." It did, the paper admitted, tie up the United States in European controversies, but it gave this country a voice in shaping such controversies and a voice in their settlement.⁸⁵

During the hearings on the treaty by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the *Des Moines Register* made several comments. It suggested that the Senate was waiting to see the reaction of the country to the treaty and would not hold out against public opinion. But it added: "Just why distinguished senators have gone through all the motions will remain a mystery to their friends. If they intended to be guided by popular opinion in the end why did they commit themselves so definitely before they tried to discover how popular opinion was running?"⁸⁶

Later, it claimed that the Senate opposition would compel the President to appeal to the country. "Nobody believes the thirty-five senators, if there are that many balkers, have any real objection to the Paris covenant. They have never stated an objection that was worthy of ten minutes' serious consideration. . . . The time has come to have a showdown with the forces of reaction, and the time has come to have it known whether the people believe in joining with the other great commercial nations to end war."⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *The Sioux City Journal*, July 12, 1919.

⁸⁶ *The Des Moines Register*, July 13, 1919.

⁸⁷ *The Des Moines Register*, July 21, 1919.

On August 16, 1919, the *Register* claimed that the treaty issue was settled, and that it would be ratified. The Senate Committee, it said, had failed to find any instance in the treaty of an attempt to "scuttle the republic", and that the close examination given to it had strengthened it in the confidence of the people, since the main objections had been shown to be worthless. On August 20th, under the heading "Now Ratify" it urged early ratification, since the President had clearly explained all points that could be considered doubtful or ambiguous.

In contrast to this opinion, the *Dubuque Times-Journal*, a few days later, claimed that the defeat of the covenant of the League of Nations was almost certain, since the Republicans would not approve a treaty that repudiated the essential principles of Americanism and the Democrats would not support it because they saw it was an unpopular measure.⁸⁸

Seeing the difficulties in the way of ratification, President Wilson decided upon a tour of the country in order to urge the people to support the League. As he started on this trip the *Sioux City Journal* published a comment unfavorable to the tour. It prophesied that the trip would not change public opinion since it had already been formed. "That division is based on the deliberate judgment of the people calmly reached after study and reflection. That division will stand against any assaults from either side." The writer of this editorial admitted, however, that the journey of the President might create enthusiasm. Had it been made earlier, declared this editor, before opinion had been formed, it might have had a different result but it was too late to be of any help in leading to ratification.⁸⁹

Of the opposition trip of Senators William E. Borah and

⁸⁸ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, September 2, 1919.

⁸⁹ *The Sioux City Journal*, September 5, 1919.

Hiram Johnson little was said, the Des Moines paper merely insisting that there had been no favorable reaction in the State to their speeches and that it had received no letters from persons in Iowa approving their stand.⁹⁰

Near the end of the President's tour the *Sioux City Journal* again insisted that it had not changed public opinion, that in Iowa there was no noticeable change of sentiment. Indeed, it appeared to infer that it had had the opposite effect, since it claimed that the people disapproved of the President's plan to give the Democratic party the credit for the treaty and criticised his trip to Paris as an attempt to put himself on the first page of history. It again insisted that his trip had been of no value in changing public opinion,⁹¹ although it was admitted that President Wilson, away from the influences of Washington politics, was less partisan and more effective as an advocate of the League.

The day after the President's return to Washington, two contradictory comments were made by the two opposing papers. The Dubuque paper claimed that a great majority of the people were against the League, that this majority was increasing, and that the people would have the last word.⁹² The *Register* claimed merely that the treaty, with reservations, but without amendments, would soon be ratified, a belief which apparently was not substantiated by facts and especially by the rejection which came soon after.⁹³

Judging from the wide diversity of opinions, it appears that the editorial comments were guided by the wishes of those expressing them rather than by actual facts. One side appeared confident of the ratification of the treaty and

⁹⁰ *The Des Moines Register*, September 19, 1919.

⁹¹ *The Sioux City Journal*, September 23, 1919.

⁹² *Dubuque Times-Journal*, September 30, 1919.

⁹³ *The Des Moines Register*, September 30, 1919.

the other side just as confident that the people would never approve such a treaty.⁹⁴ One advocate of the League insisted that the President's tour was of no value and had no lasting effect, except possibly in the crystallization of public opinion, and that it was more harmful than helpful to the treaty.⁹⁵ But in spite of that, this paper clung to the belief that the majority of the people favored the League, although it expressed no opinion as to its ratification.

The *Des Moines Register*, however, frequently expressed the opinion that the Treaty of Versailles would be ratified and in this persistent advocacy of the treaty it was guilty of an inconsistency. When ratification appeared probable, it insisted that the Senate would follow popular opinion, but when the treaty was rejected it was not willing to accept that as an indication of the will of the people, but insisted that it was due to the desire of the Senate for some share in the treaty-making.⁹⁶ This paper continually minimized the opposition and insisted to the last that the treaty would be ratified, even when grave doubts were felt by all others. Possibly this attitude was an attempt to influence public opinion by leading people to believe that ratification was the winning side.

Another interesting feature was the inability or perhaps the lack of desire on the part of the papers to interpret public opinion. Only one paper attempted to analyze the problem and to discuss both sides of the question,⁹⁷ but it freely admitted that it was in favor of the League. Other papers made no effort to ascertain and express all shades of public opinion but confined themselves to the opinion of

⁹⁴ *The Des Moines Register*, May 5, 1919; *Dubuque Times-Journal*, June 2, 4, 1919.

⁹⁵ *The Sioux City Journal*, September 5, 23, 1919.

⁹⁶ *The Des Moines Register*, September 19, 1919, March 21, 1920.

⁹⁷ *The Sioux City Journal*.

the side which they advocated. Indeed it cannot be supposed that the papers with their fixed opinions expressed so clearly and definitely could have presented all phases of public opinion, many of them diametrically opposed.

AMENDMENTS AND RESERVATIONS

These differences of opinion naturally led to attempts at compromise in the hope of saving the treaty. The first attempts were in the nature of amendments proposed by the Senate, attempts which were unsuccessful inasmuch as the sponsors of the treaty objected to its being changed in any way. The next attempt was in the form of reservations, which, it was claimed, did not change the treaty, but merely gave the interpretation which this country placed on it.

Apparently some such attempt at changing the treaty was feared even before it was submitted to the Senate, for as early as March 20, 1919, there was an editorial warning against this tendency. The claim was made that this would be dangerous because of the possibility of changing the provisions entirely, and for that reason it should be avoided by the friends of the League, since its enemies were using that method to defeat it.⁹⁸

This fear was justified by a favorable comment from the League's opponent on an address by Senator Philander C. Knox in which he claimed that it was his duty "to analyze thoroughly the proposed British League and to support such amendments as may be necessary to protect our national interests."⁹⁹ Thus, even before the treaty was presented to the Senate, a movement was under way to amend it, an indication of the strong opposition it was to meet.

On August 8, 1919, while the committee hearings were in progress, the *Sioux City Journal* insisted that some ac-

⁹⁸ *The Des Moines Register*, March 20, 1919.

⁹⁹ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, May 19, 1919.

tion on the League must be taken at once, and it is noticeable that in presenting the choice of actions, this paper, although an advocate of the League, did not include the possibility of its adoption without reservations; even this early it realized that the opposition was too great for such action. "If reservations requiring the re-negotiations of the instrument are necessary to its ratification, let them be made and the treaty re-submitted before the conditions in the other nations make such acceptances difficult or impossible. If the covenant of the league, in the judgment of the men charged with its disposition, is so inimical to the interests of the nation that they cannot in conscience approve it, then let the treaty be rejected and sent back to the president for remodelling according to the views of the senate."

A few days later, continuing the same general thought, the Sioux City paper said, "According to the logic of both sides sought to be brought together, nothing but advantage can come from these reservations. If the articles which it is sought to modify mean what the administration adherents and the supporters of the covenant in general contend they do, there never can be any construction placed upon them which will call for the application of the reservations. If the articles mean what the opponents of the covenant assert they do, the United States has an open door in the reservations through which it may retire from the league without discredit, having given notice by its qualified ratification that it will do so if the articles of the covenant are given certain constructions and applications which are subversive of its constitution and fundamental governmental policies." It later, however, expressed doubt that the President would accept reservations even though he knew that the treaty could not be ratified without them.¹⁰⁰

The principal argument against attempts at the modifica-

¹⁰⁰ *The Sioux City Journal*, August 15, 29, 1919.

tion of the treaty, as expressed by its supporters, lay in the necessity for its re-submission to the Allies and to Germany. This would mean, asserted the *Register*, the re-opening of negotiations, something for which Germany had been wishing, since it would give her an opportunity to gain more concessions. This, according to the *Register*, was admitted by the Senators who were opposing the treaty. "Is it not plain that the worst fears of everybody are warranted if for any reason we reopen the treaty making and begin over again? Is it not plain that Germany will be more confident and that the allied powers will be less united?"¹⁰¹

As the debate went on, two conflicting views again appeared. The *Dubuque Times-Journal* expressed satisfaction that reservations were being added. "Every friend of Americanism will rejoice at the prospect that reservations, effective reservations, are now assured." It insisted that the Republicans in the Senate had followed the wishes of the country as a whole, and that the result was a victory for the common people.¹⁰² On the other hand, the *Des Moines Register* saw in the rapidity with which certain amendments were being rejected how little opposition there really was. It admitted, however, that there was one important reservation, the one on Article X. This admission meant more than appeared on the surface, since that amendment struck at what the advocates of the treaty considered the very heart of the League, and was therefore of fundamental importance. "If Article X is incorporated in the treaty", declared the *Register's* editorial, "then the league will have teeth, if Article X is emasculated or left out, then the league will be merely a benevolent debating society."¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ *The Des Moines Register*, August 29, September 15, 1919.

¹⁰² *Dubuque Times-Journal*, October 9, 1919.

¹⁰³ *The Des Moines Register*, October 19, December 29, 1919.

As it gradually became clear that ratification of the treaty was impossible without reservations, one of the treaty's defenders insisted on their adoption in order to get the League at all, claiming that it would be better to have the League with some reservations than not at all. "This survey of the conditions leads inevitably to the conclusion that it would be better to accept the compromise of a qualified ratification rather than have the treaty rejected, and that the democratic senators and the president will be violating the public will if they decline to join in this effort. The president in a way must be discredited by being unable to negotiate a treaty which his country declines to accept without strings attached, but he must be patriotic enough to submerge his own sensibilities in the common good of his country." Furthermore, the Sioux City paper claimed, the reservations should be accepted inasmuch as they were compromises, "the middle ground upon which the factions are seeking to get together. That policy is the spirit of democracy, the method by which results are brought out of divided opinion without resort to resolution and anarchy and outlawry. Whether it suits the extremists or not, if the compromise is fair and reasonable, it should be accepted." Apparently there was a feeling that the League was not to have teeth in it. "The policy of the other dominant governments seems to be to consider it a moral, rather than a legal instrument."¹⁰⁴

The *Des Moines Register*, however, still earnestly advocating the treaty and the Covenant of the League without reservations, insisted that reservations and amendments were practically the same thing and that no man who would not vote for an amendment had any right to vote for a reservation, since they were both designed to cure the same ills. Two days later the paper amplified this by saying that

¹⁰⁴ *The Sioux City Journal*, October 23, 1919.

while the amendments changed the text, the reservations, keeping the same text, changed its meaning. It very effectively compared the League with the added reservations to an insurance policy which made many promises on the face, but which had within so many fine-print restrictions upon them (reservations) that they really nullified the promises on the first page. "The United States will appear contemptible in the eyes of the world if it apparently agrees to the covenant of Paris in the words in which it is written, and then tries to avoid liability by crossing its fingers when it signs." ¹⁰⁵

Furthermore this paper insisted that the issue was not whether the President should have his own way but whether this plan of world organization, drawn up by the great powers, should be accepted by the United States, or whether "the senate shall, without having the courage to modify the text, adopt a lot of fine print reservations that will relieve the United States from the liability the others have accepted." It objected to the reservations also on the ground that their addition to the treaty would mean that the direction of international affairs would be taken away from the President and would be put in the hands of the Senate, something which, it declared, was never contemplated by the Constitution. "Senator Lodge is taking the senate to a position no intelligent student of American history can defend. That our Iowa senators should vote to sustain Senator Lodge is one of the curious manifestations of the prevailing anti-Wilson phobia now raging in Washington." ¹⁰⁶

Moreover, it charged the Senators who were voting for reservations with doing so for the purpose of killing the League. "It is important to recognize that the men who

¹⁰⁵ *The Des Moines Register*, November 4, 6, 1919.

¹⁰⁶ *The Des Moines Register*, November 10, 15, 1919.

are responsible for tacking reservations on the league covenant themselves believe they are killing the treaty." It added that those who voted for the Lodge reservation on Article X did so knowing that they were ending the League, although they said that they were merely voting to "Americanize" it.¹⁰⁷

While the reservations were being discussed by the Senate, the *Dubuque Times-Journal* congratulated those Democratic Senators who voted for them, saying that they placed patriotism higher than partisanship and that the victory of Americanism would be thus assured. When the reservation concerning Article X was adopted this paper commented, "We lay no claim to having the gift of prophecy, but we may be pardoned if we remind our readers that we predicted a month ago that there would be no amendments to the Treaty of Peace, but that the Covenant would be rendered harmless by effective reservations. Article X has been improved by the reservation which the Senate adopted, and it is now clear that the spirit of 'America first' will triumph." ¹⁰⁸

A few days later the Dubuque paper commented on the refusal on the part of the administration to accept the reservations. "The threat of the administration to wreck any treaty of peace which does not conform in exact detail to the wishes of the dominant spirits in the Paris conference is one of the finest examples of destructive statesmanship we have ever seen." It insisted that Europe had no objections to the reservations and would accept them in order to get the treaty. Such being the case, it argued, why should any American citizen object to them? ¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ *The Des Moines Register*, November 18, 1919.

¹⁰⁸ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, November 11, 16, 1919.

¹⁰⁹ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, November 19, December 12, 1919, January 6, 1920.

After the treaty was rejected the first time, the *Sioux City Journal* insisted, "The people will not tolerate the contemplated policy of the president to pigeonhole the treaty and defy the country, merely because he has the power to do so." Americans felt that the treaty could be ratified with reservations which would protect the United States and give it the treaty too, and they wanted the President and Senate to reach a compromise. "They do not propose", the paper said, "that the senate and the president shall be permitted, in the slang of the street, to pass the buck back and forth. Each has a duty to perform and the public demands that they perform it, not play with it."¹¹⁰

A few days later, the *Journal* again claimed that popular opinion was having its effect on the Senate. "It has been told", it said, "to reach a compromise and it is endeavoring to do it. The senate is entitled to no credit for this policy if accomplished. Public opinion has been legislating in Washington. That is all. It will be no surprise to see the two defiant challengers of a few weeks ago yoked together as oxen and pulling docilely at the same load, public opinion driving White House and senate with ease and ability."¹¹¹

But there were still serious objections to compromise reservations. The President, the *Des Moines Register* said, did not object to a reservation incorporating what he had in mind when Article X was written, namely, that Congress must give its approval if troops were to be used, but he insisted that the pledge given in that article be kept since the United States must do its part in maintaining order. Later the charge was renewed that the purpose of the Senate in adding reservations was to kill the League without seeming to do it, although the people did not realize this. The *Register* reiterated that there was no difference be-

¹¹⁰ *The Sioux City Journal*, November 22, December 19, 1919.

¹¹¹ *The Sioux City Journal*, December 24, 1919.

tween amendments and reservations, that any reservation made would require the re-submission of the treaty to the other countries, and that the Senate was taking this method to kill the League.¹¹²

A week later the same paper again insisted that this country could not enter the League on a half-way basis; it must be all in the League or all out, and claimed that the time would come when all people would applaud the President for his stand. "If we are not ready for Article X we are not ready for the league of nations, for a league of nations that is not going to safeguard its members from external aggressions is not going to do much to make war unprofitable and therefore unpopular."¹¹³

As the debate progressed, it became evident that the success of the treaty depended on whether the President would accept the Senate's reservations, since the impossibility of its being ratified without them had been recognized for some time. The *Sioux City Journal* on February 10, 1920, summarized the situation in this way: "The developments have reached the point where the president must display unreasonable and unjustifiable stubbornness amounting to selfishness or else he must display the qualities of a statesman and accept compromises in order to permit the two independent constitutional powers of treaty making to reach a mutual agreement. If he does not yield to reasonable senate views in order to get the treaty ratification completed he will show an attitude unworthy of a statesman, because he has been told by those who speak the sentiments of the important governments with which the United States was allied that they will accept ratification with such reservations."

Nearly a month later, its criticism of the President for

¹¹² *The Des Moines Register*, December 29, 1919, February 2, 1920.

¹¹³ *The Des Moines Register*, February 9, 1920.

his stand became more acute. "The sentiment of the country at this time is that the president must come down from his exalted self sufficiency, consider what can be done and do it. Public sentiment is not in favor of having the treaty ratification made a toy to gratify the childish whim of anyone, whether in the White House or on Capitol hill."¹¹⁴

During this entire period the *Dubuque Times-Journal* was rejoicing in the triumph of Americanism through the adoption of reservations. "Every loyal American will rejoice in the victory of Americanism over its half-American opponents." A few days later, it again commented: "As reservation after reservation is adopted it becomes clearer that the Senate has been faithful to its task of safeguarding Americanism against the attacks of the internationalism for which the President and his associates stand."¹¹⁵

Two days before the final rejection of the treaty the *Sioux City Journal* declared that the difference between the treaty and the reservations was only a matter of expression and insisted that if the Democrats and the President opposed the treaty on account of the reservations, it could mean only that they did not want the treaty ratified. "What the president asks, and his wishes are the inspiration of the administration senators, has been met, except in the immaterial manner of statement and method of expression. There is no reason why the treaty should not be ratified over the vote of the irreconcilables if the administration and its supporters in the senate are sincere in their professions."¹¹⁶ But in spite of this optimism the treaty was finally rejected on March 19, 1920, and returned to the President with a notification to that effect.

Judging from the opinions represented by Iowa papers

¹¹⁴ *The Sioux City Journal*, March 7, 1920.

¹¹⁵ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, March 4, 10, 1920.

¹¹⁶ *The Sioux City Journal*, March 17, 1920.

the majority of the people were in favor of reservations, some because they claimed these reservations safeguarded national interests and others because they realized that to get the treaty at all they must take it with reservations; only a minority insisted on the treaty without change. The principle of democracy also, it seemed, supported the compromise position, since all popular government must be, by its very nature, a compromise by opposing factions, and the failure to accept the compromise was responsible for the failure of the treaty.

DEMAND FOR A SEPARATE PEACE

During this protracted discussion of the treaty and its reservations there was a demand on the part of some for an immediate treaty of peace or a declaration that the war was over. Some of the people realized from the beginning that the discussion would be prolonged and looked about for some other means of bringing about a condition of peace with the Central Powers. This led to a proposal to secure it merely by a resolution of Congress. As early as November 19, 1919, the *Dubuque Times-Journal* made the suggestion that a mere declaration by Congress that the war was at an end would be sufficient, and added the suggestion that new treaties could be negotiated later. The suggestion of this procedure by the Senate led to severe criticism of Senator Lodge who was its author. It was claimed that he suggested a concurrent resolution by Congress so that the President might be excluded from participation in it, but that this was against all precedent and American good sense, and for this reason this method was rejected.¹¹⁷

On January 16, 1920, the *Dubuque Times-Journal* again brought this proposal forward. It quoted the President as saying that the treaty must be accepted without alterations,

¹¹⁷ *The Des Moines Register*, November 26, 1919.

an attitude which made compromise impossible and which, it said, showed clearly that the only way out of the difficulty was a resolution by Congress to the effect that a state of peace existed with the German Republic. This opinion it reiterated later, insisting that the opposition of the President to the reservations, combined with the determination of the Senators to safeguard Americanism by their adoption, made peace through ratification of the treaty impossible; the only solution was a resolution by Congress.¹¹⁸ On February 12, 1920, the Dubuque paper claimed that the public was wearied with the quarrel over the treaty, but trusted the Senate to know what action would be best for the country. It again criticized the treaty, saying, "Greed, hatred, revenge, the lust for territory and power are written with large letters in the treaty of peace, but one has yet to hear that justice is contained in this most wonderful document." A peace resolution, it asserted, would be preferable to the ratification of such a document.

Although it was suggested in the Senate by Senator Lodge, a separate peace declaration was not seriously considered at this time; it was advocated merely as a temporary expedient in order to avoid ratification of the treaty, and naturally only by the treaty's opponent. A declaration that the war was at an end was finally made by a joint resolution dated July 2, 1921.

REACTION TO DEFEAT OF THE LEAGUE

When the entire history of the treaty debates and the record of public opinion is considered, it should not be difficult to understand the charges of responsibility for its defeat. Before the vote was taken which resulted in its first rejection the blame for its possible defeat was, as might be expected, placed by the treaty's opponents upon the Presi-

¹¹⁸ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, January 14, 31, 1920.

dent. The *Dubuque Times-Journal* charged that the President, by his refusal to accept any reservations, was unwilling to meet the wishes of the people of the United States, and made the plain statement that if the League failed, the blame must rest on him. After the first defeat of the treaty, it repeated this charge, saying that the treaty would have been ratified soon after it was presented if the Covenant of the League had not been made an integral part of the treaty, and that the President constantly disregarded public opinion in combining them.¹¹⁹ This paper apparently considered this a strong argument since it repeated it on December 5th, adding that it was an un-American covenant and that when the Senate tried to Americanize it the President refused to coöperate, and for that reason the Senate refused to accept it. It still claimed that it was the President who killed it since he could have saved it by accepting the American modifications. It is significant that neither the *Des Moines Register* nor the *Sioux City Journal*, both advocates of the treaty, made any charges whatever as to the responsibility for the first defeat, nor did they attempt to defend the President thus tacitly admitting the justice of the charge.

However, the *Register* made the comment that the temporary rejection of the treaty was good news to the radicals and revolutionists, since they preferred an organization of the world on their basis, and not on the basis of justice and equity as the League would have provided. It later expressed the hope that the treaty would be ratified soon. "Who really believes that America will be behind in the undertaking we have ourselves proposed to Europe, when so much of our own future is tied up in what the Paris conference tried to do?"¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, September 28, November 21, 1919.

¹²⁰ *The Des Moines Register*, November 28, December 21, 1919.

Another advocate, commenting on its temporary rejection, insisted that the people wanted the League.

They have indorsed the league of nations, imperfect as it is, because it is a step in the consummation of world peace. . . . Labor and capital have urged ratification upon the senate. Church organizations and educational associations have lifted their voices in behalf of the plan. Mass meetings have voted messages of approval which were transmitted to senators. Thousands have cheered the declarations in advocacy of ratification. If the manufactured sentiment, that which does not come spontaneously from the people, were eliminated from the volume which has found expression, the record would show that at least three-fourths of the thinking people of the nation have raised their voices in favor of ratification, not because they believe in President Wilson or desire to support him, but because they believe the league of nations will serve as the foundation for the rule of reason which shall take the place of the rule of might. . . . The people have spoken. The voice is unmistakable. It is firm and insistent. It has spoken not only with authority, but with the higher force of national demand. . . . The people are for the treaty.¹²¹

On the other hand, the Dubuque paper claimed that some one in England had said that the defeat of the League would increase good feelings with the United States, since the obligations of the League would have created friction between the two countries. It quoted the London *Morning Post* as saying that the League had begun "its ill omened career by wrecking a great peace treaty". It also quoted Senator Lodge as saying that all the Republicans demanded was that the treaty be Americanized. They had always stood for a league of nations, he said, but one that would not sacrifice American sovereignty.¹²²

Upon the final rejection of the treaty all three of the Iowa papers which have been included in this study made comments. Although it had earlier blamed the President

¹²¹ *The Sioux City Journal*, November 30, 1919.

¹²² *Dubuque Times-Journal*, November 26, December 1, 1919.

for the possible failure of ratification because of his refusal to compromise, the *Sioux City Journal*, which had advocated the League with reservations if they were necessary for its adoption but the League under any conditions, made no attempt to place the blame. It contented itself with insisting that the people wanted ratification. "The majority of the people are in favor of ratification of the treaty. They do not care so much about reservations, because those who favored ratification without reservations are not hostile to ratification with reservations as a compromise expedient." ¹²³

Others papers in placing the blame did so in accordance with the attitudes which they had maintained consistently throughout the debate. The *Dubuque Times-Journal* commented that the Republican party need not be ashamed of its record on the treaty and that except for the stubborn attitude of the President a compromise might have been worked out.¹²⁴ On the other hand, the *Des Moines Register*, as might have been expected, blamed the Senate. Under the heading "The Senate's Failure" it blamed the defeat of the treaty upon the Senate's conception of itself as an independent treaty-making power, which, it claimed, it had asserted from the first. It suggested two reasons for the Senate's action: first, that in the last one hundred and fifty years the powers of the President had increased over those of the Senate; and, second, that it felt resentment at the President's assumption of leadership. It concluded by saying that the fact that other nations had accepted the treaty showed clearly that the motive of the Senate was to "get even with the president".¹²⁵

Thus the attempts to place the blame for the treaty's

¹²³ *The Sioux City Journal*, February 10, March 21, 1920.

¹²⁴ *Dubuque Times-Journal*, March 20, 1920.

¹²⁵ *The Des Moines Register*, March 21, 1920.

failure were guided by the attitude of the papers toward the treaty as a whole, the one which had objected to the treaty having blamed the President because of his refusal to accept changes in it and because of his determination not to accept compromises. On the other hand, the one which had advocated it blamed the Senate because of its determination to change it. Even before the first rejection the charge had been made that the President would be responsible for any possible rejection because of his insistence upon the inclusion of the League Covenant into the treaty and because of his uncompromising attitude. It was natural that this charge should be repeated after the treaty's defeat. No charges had, however, been made earlier in the debate blaming the Senate, since up until the very end treaty advocates had insisted that it would be ratified.

Throughout the entire debate up to and including the final rejection there can be seen two dominant principles which were in conflict. The acceptance of the treaty hinged largely on the necessity for changing the traditional policy of this country to adapt it to the new conditions which confronted it. In brief, the struggle may be summed up in a single phrase, Americanism *versus* internationalism, and it was on this issue that the debate was carried on.

The one side emphasized the changed conditions and envisioned a world based on justice rather than on force. It insisted that this country must adapt itself to these new conditions, and nearly all of the arguments in favor of the treaty were along this line. Similarly, nearly all of the arguments against the treaty can be classified under the heading of Americanism or the policy of national isolation. It was Article X which embodied in a few words this new principle which the League introduced, the acceptance of which required the abandonment of the policy of isolation;

and it was this article that called forth the greatest opposition, although certain other of the treaty's provisions were also attacked.

It was found to be impossible to reconcile these conflicting views and all attempts at compromise were failures, since reservations satisfactory to both sides could not be found. This but added to the bitterness of the debate. It ranged from constitutional interpretation concerning the power of the Senate in treaty-making to indulgence in personalities. As severe and bitter as the fight was, however, after the final rejection, each paper made a single comment and the matter was considered closed. The people accepted the action of their representatives in the Senate as final and turned to other subjects for discussion.

Thus the bitter and determined fight to change the policy of isolation to one of close coöperation in world affairs through membership in the new League of Nations was ended by the general acceptance on the part of the whole country of the Senate's decision, even though this meant the rejection of the treaty which was to bring to an official conclusion the greatest war of history up to that time and was designed to prevent the recurrence of any similar catastrophe. Whether the adherence of the United States to the League of Nations at the close of the first World War might have prevented another World War, as advocates of the League hoped in 1919 and 1920, can never be known. America is still debating isolation *versus* internationalism.

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REMINISCENCES OF THE AGASSIZ ASSOCIATION IN IOWA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE FAIRFIELD CHAPTER

Sixty years ago the young people of Iowa were taught very little about the animals and plants, rocks and fossils, of the Mississippi Valley. Only such creatures as were of economic value were given any study. The children in the public schools and colleges learned reading and writing, mathematics and history, Greek and Latin, but very little of biology or geology, chemistry or physics.

In one good small college, for example, there was a full professor of Greek, another for Latin, and one for mathematics; but only one teacher for all the "natural sciences" and he had no laboratories and very little equipment. A college freshman in early days knew that all Gaul was "divided into three parts" but few college seniors knew that every lily has six petals and every beetle has four wings.

Such conditions prevailed in Iowa in 1880, when, in November of that year there appeared in the magazine *St. Nicholas* an invitation from Professor Harlan H. Ballard of the Lenox Academy, Lenox, Massachusetts, for the young people of the United States to join his newly organized "Agassiz Association" for the study of nature.

In Switzerland there was already a nature study club named for Louis Agassiz. Professor Ballard had imitated this by founding a similar club in the Lenox Academy. This proved so successful and created such interest that he suggested, through the *St. Nicholas*, the organization of similar clubs throughout the world. The object was to teach children to use their eyes and to learn that the fields and woods were full of beauty and interest. The *St. Nicholas* was to be

the official organ of the Agassiz Association and was to carry bi-monthly reports from the local societies, or "Chapters" of the Association.

The time was ripe for Professor Ballard's suggestion. The response from the readers of the *St. Nicholas* was immediate. Within four months twenty-eight Chapters of the St. Nicholas Agassiz Association were organized in the United States. Two of these were in Iowa. The Chapters were numbered in the order of their organization. Some were formed in schools. Some were limited to the members of one family. Individuals could join the main Chapter in Massachusetts. The first Chapter in Iowa, No. 15, was founded by Will R. Lighton in Ottumwa; the second Iowa Chapter, No. 20, was located in Fairfield.

The Agassiz Association soon had to have a badge, and for this, appropriately (since Agassiz was born in Switzerland), the Swiss Cross was chosen. It could be purchased made either of gold or silver and was worn by the more affluent members of the Association.

Professor Ballard published a *Hand Book* which could be purchased for fifty cents. At this time few books were available for the specific identification of birds and insects and such identification was a difficult task for members of the Agassiz clubs. Professor Ballard persuaded a number of gentlemen in various colleges to offer their services to the Association. A considerable correspondence between these experts and the members of the Agassiz Association resulted, the only cost to the Agassiz members being the return postage for their letters. It is probable that the growing demand by the Agassiz Association for illustrated books had much to do with the publication of the fine manuals that are today available for nature study.

During the six years following the invitation which Mr. Ballard published in *St. Nicholas*, the Agassiz Association

grew rapidly. More than one thousand chapters were said to have been organized in the United States and in April, 1886, the Association reported 10,031 members. Chapters had been organized in Ireland, Scotland, France, Canada, and some South American countries.

Lists of the Chapters in Iowa are fragmentary, but it appears that by 1886 one or more Chapters had been established at Ottumwa, Fairfield, West Liberty, Cedar Rapids, Grand Junction, Marshalltown, Davenport (2), Sidney, Dubuque (2), Decorah, Clinton (2), Iowa City, Oskaloosa (2), Palo, Shellsburg, Osceola, Winterset, Greene, Mt. Pleasant, Council Bluffs, Cedar Falls, Meridan, Grinnell, Manchester, Des Moines, Burlington, Sigourney, and Bristow. There may have been others up to this time and a few may have been organized later.

There was from the beginning some criticism of the association of a learned society with a magazine, especially one of the juvenile type, but *St. Nicholas* continued as the sponsor for some six years. The last report of President Ballard appeared in the issue of January, 1887. He soon began the publication of a new magazine, *The Swiss Cross*, devoted entirely to the activities of the Agassiz Association. The separation of the Agassiz Association from *St. Nicholas* appears to have marked the end of the juvenile period.

THE FAIRFIELD AGASSIZ CLUB

Because the writer was a charter member of the Fairfield Chapter of the Agassiz Association and had first hand knowledge of its activities and because this club was probably typical of these Agassiz societies in Iowa, its history may illustrate the influence of this movement on the educational system of the State. Though short lived, the Agassiz Association was probably of considerable importance to our educational progress.

Virginia Slagle of Fairfield, later Mrs. James G. Berryhill of Des Moines, was responsible for the organization of Chapter 20 of the Agassiz Association in Fairfield, Iowa. After reading Professor Ballard's invitation in the *St. Nicholas*, she persuaded her younger brother, Walter S. Slagle, to call his young friends together and start a nature study club.

On Saturday evening, November 6, 1880, on the invitation of Walter Slagle, a group of young people met at the residence of Dr. Charles S. Clarke, 402 South Main Street, Fairfield, Iowa, and organized Chapter 20 of the Agassiz Association. These young people — Walter Slagle, Carrie Lamson, Florence Lamson, Kate Beck, Nellie Hughes, Kattie Voorhees, Fred Spielman, David Beck, John Spielman, and Fred Clarke — averaged fifteen years of age. Though but ten attended this first meeting, others were very soon elected to membership. The early date records are lost, but some of the following became active members of the club so early that they seem entitled to the honor of charter memberships. Cassius Cottle was always most active in the club work. Fred Gage, Myrtle Kirby, Sue Blair, Jim Wilson, Stella Sampson, Carrie Spielman, John Templeton, Anna White, Nellie Isreal, Beulah West, Edna West, Anna Symons, all of Fairfield, and Cora Scofield of Washington, Iowa, were at times active in the club's studies.

To appreciate the problems facing these young people as they met on that Saturday evening in November, 1880, to begin the study of nature, one must visualize the background of the picture. As has been said, the schools did not then teach the natural sciences. There were no boy and girl scout troops for drill and study. There were no movies to attend, no automobiles in which to ride. The leisure of childhood was hard to fill in a profitable way. Here, through the *St. Nicholas*, a teacher in far-off Massachusetts invited

the children of America to open their eyes and look at the animals and plants, the rocks and stones, about them. It was a new and appealing thought. Here was a chance to fill the between school hours and the evenings with interest. These fifteen-year-olds knew there were birds in the air, flowers and toadstools in the woods, butterflies and moths in the air, but that there were hundreds of kinds of these living things, that flies and beetles had the same number of legs, that bats, though they flew, were not birds, these thousands of obvious facts were unknown to them. There began on that evening an inquiry that has continued throughout the lives of all—a search for the truths of nature.

Like charter members of every club, they had to begin by adopting a constitution and by-laws and electing officers. The constitution, at first simple, was later elaborated. The final completed document read as follows:

Constitution and By Laws of the Fairfield Chapter No. 20 of the Agassiz Association.

Article I. Name and Object.

Section 1. This Society shall be known as Fairfield Chapter A of the Agassiz Association.

Section 2. Object. The object of this Society shall be to study Nature and the encouragement of Scientific Education.

Article II. Membership.

Section 1. Active Members. Any person interested in Natural Science and evincing an aptitude for this study may be elected to active membership by ballot after one weeks notice in writing. Three black balls reject a candidate.

Section 2. The number of active members residing in Fairfield shall be limited to twenty-five.

Section 3. Five members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Article III. Officers.

Section 1. The officers of the Chapter shall be a President, Vice-President, Curator, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary

and Treasurer, who shall be elected at the first regular meetings of June and December.

Section 2. The President in addition to the ordinary duties of his office, shall have charge of the scientific program of each meeting.

Section 3. The Vice President shall assume the duties of the Chair in the absence of the President and make the official reports to the President of the Agassiz Association.

Section 4. The Curator shall have charge of and be responsible for, all specimens and furniture, books and papers of the Chapter.

Section 5. The Recording Secretary shall keep a full record of all the proceedings of the Chapter.

Section 6. The Corresponding Secretary shall send programs and notices and reports to each section at least once each month and carry on all other correspondence of the Chapter.

Section 7. The Treasurer shall care for all funds of the Chapter and pay out monies only on written order from the President and Recording Secretary.

Section 8. Each officer at the close of his term shall make a full written report of his work.

Article IV. Sections.

Section 1. Any two or more members may organize a Section of the Chapter which Section shall be named from the township in which it is organized or from the subject of its study.

Section 2. Each section may elect officers and adopt By Laws for its own government, providing these in no way conflict with the Constitution and By Laws of the Chapter.

Section 3. Each Section shall make a monthly written report to the Corresponding Secretary of the Chapter and send representatives, when possible, to the extraordinary meetings.

Article V. Meetings.

Section 1. Ordinary Meetings of the Chapter shall be held every Monday evening at 7:30 o'clock, except on the days of the extraordinary meetings.

Section 2. Extraordinary Meetings, at which Township Sections are expected to be present, shall be held on the day and at the time and place of the first ordinary meeting of January, April, July and October.

Section 3. Special Meetings shall be held on May 28th. and November 6th. each year to commemorate Agassiz's Birthday and the organization of this Chapter.

Article VI. Amendments.

The Constitution may be amended after one weeks notice in writing, by a three fourths majority vote by ballot.

By Laws

No. 1. For Fairfield members the initiation fee shall be one dollar. The monthly dues shall be ten cents.

No. 2. Order of Business.

1. Call to order.
2. Lecture or Essay.
3. Discussion.
4. Reports of Work and Correspondence.
5. Recess five minutes.
6. Laboratory Work.
7. Reading of Minutes.
8. Miscellaneous Business.
9. Adjournment.

No. 3. Neglect of Work.

Any member who is absent without excuse or who, in the opinion of the President and Curator and Recording Secretary, neglects the Scientific work of the Chapter for three successive weeks, shall, by the order of these officers, be dropped from the rolls. A reinstatement shall require the payment of all dues and a ballot with the same requirements as the election of a new member.

No. 4. Robert's Rules of Order shall be authority.

No. 5. The President shall impose fines on members or Committees subject to appeal to the Chapter.

No. 6. No member shall use the microscope or other apparatus of the Society except by permission or under the direction of the President or Curator. All such apparatus must be left in its proper place and in good condition.

No. 7. Called meetings may be held for a stated purpose if two-thirds of the members are notified.

No. 8. Amendments to the By Laws may be made at a regular meeting by a two-thirds majority vote.

The plan for the organization of "sections" of the club, in the county outside of Fairfield never materialized. There were at times "sections" in the Fairfield Chapter which attempted specialized studies but even these made little

progress. All the members were interested in every subject. The novelty of this nature study, the wonders found in every group of plants and animals, the lack of adequate literature in special fields, the lack of guidance in scientific work, all led these young disciples of Agassiz to strive for a general, superficial view of animal life, rather than an intensive study of any small portion of it.

The Agassiz Association for a time met every Monday evening at the homes of its members. Then a fortunate event occurred. Dr. Charles S. Clarke had for some time owned a small brick house on a five-acre tract of land just on the southern edge of Fairfield. Always alive to human interests and eternal values, the doctor dismissed his renters and gave the use of this property to the Agassiz Chapter. Perhaps no other one thing contributed so much to the success of this society and the development of its members as did this "Agassiz House". It became an institution of note in the county and from it radiated educational influences which, Dr. Clarke felt, paid him far greater dividends than the small rental he sacrificed.

The families of the Agassiz Association members gave wall paper, carpets, chairs, tables, kerosene lamps, and wood stoves, with which to furnish this club house. The members of the Chapter cleaned the rooms, papered the walls, put down the carpets over soft straw cushions, built cabinets for the display of "specimens", and thus established Agassiz House.

Cassius Cottle constructed the most unique and valuable piece of the furniture. It was a large round table with a revolving top. Twelve or more people could sit about this table and the one microscope owned by the club could travel from one to another by turning the table top, until all had seen the blood circulation in the web of a frog's foot, or the regularly shingled scales on the butterfly's wing, or the

microscopic eyelets of the fly's eye, or the hundreds of other wonders which before had been unknown to these students. Of all the acquisitions of this Agassiz club in its early days, two stand out in the writer's memory as most notable. One was a very fine insect cabinet of walnut which cost seventy-five dollars. Each of the many drawers was covered with a glassed frame fitted on rubber. How this large amount of purchase money was acquired is not recorded. The second outstanding exhibit in the Agassiz House was the complete skeleton of a large Norman horse, wired together and mounted on a rolling platform. The whitened bones of this horse were found undisturbed in a distant pasture and Cassius Cottle led the work of fitting the skeleton together. For a time it seemed more than complete, but finally a place was found for all of the bones.

Each Agassiz Association member had an insect net made of mosquito-bar on a hoop fastened to the end of a broomstick. Each one had a jelly glass with potassium cyanide buried in plaster of Paris in the bottom and a tight fitting lid. Imprisoned in this glass the butterflies were quickly poisoned. Some members, however, preferred putting a few drops of chloroform on the insect's abdomen to kill it and these carried a chloroform bottle in place of the cyanide glass in their field equipment. All were proud of the knowledge (which ignorant outsiders lacked) that an insect's mouth had nothing to do with its breathing and that no amount of chloroform on its head would put it to sleep.

At the regular Monday evening meetings of the Agassiz Association, each member had a question to answer and one member had a formally prepared essay to read. Many had specimens to exhibit which had been collected during the week or had been presented by some friend who had been to Colorado or other distant point.

The first question at the first meeting the writer remem-

bers was, "Is a bat a bird?" This is illuminating as to the ignorance of these young people. They learned that the ability to fly was not sufficient ground for classification, although a flying mammal was an unusual phenomenon. Years later they learned of the flying reptiles of another geologic age.

Some of the questions proposed at the early Association meetings give a general impression of the variety of the subjects discussed:

Do fish live on other fish or on vegetable food?

What fact first brought Agassiz before the world?

Is the blue jay beneficial?

How is the "moss" in a moss agate formed?

Why are crinoid stems broken and scattered through the rocks?

Does the flower of the blue gentian ever open?

How does the angleworm dig a hole?

What causes the "fire" in a firefly's body?

Give the composition of chalk.

Have fish the sense of hearing?

These questions plainly show that the Agassiz clubs were not societies of original research, but groups of young people learning to open their eyes and see all of the world. Later in life some few of the members went further in original scientific investigation. The great majority merely made a casual acquaintance with the living creatures about them. Habits of observation were established. Their lives were made more interesting. The influence of these clubs probably had much to do with changing the trends of public school education.

The Fairfield Agassiz Association was not, however, merely a Monday evening club. Few days passed that some members were not in the fields and woods "collecting specimens"; few evenings passed that some members of the

Chapter were not at Agassiz House discussing the specimens collected during these excursions. Saturdays and Sundays meant longer journeys, usually to the rivers that were from ten to twenty miles away. With so much to see in the "Great Outdoors" how could people stay in churches on Sundays? As has been said, there were no automobiles or movie theatres or radios to claim their time. That Golden Age, with time to see and think, is gone forever!

Each member of the Agassiz Association was expected to choose a special subject for study. The majority chose "Insects", probably because of their infinite variety and the sport of hunting them in the fields near at hand. All learned that the thousands of varied insects could be grouped into several great "Orders" and that of these groups those of but one could rightly be called "bugs". When an Ohio carriage salesman presented his card with the word Columbus, the picture of a beetle, a Y, and the word Company printed on it (it was to be read Columbus Buggy Company) the Agassiz disciples gloated in their superior knowledge; to them the card read, "Columbus Beetley Company". A beetle was not a bug.

Because of the lack of good reference literature at that time the genera and species of most of the insects were not determined, but hundreds of specimens were arranged in the Agassiz club's cabinets in family groups. The world was found to be inhabited by uncounted thousands of insects, all having six legs and all, excepting the flies, having four wings. One of the world's famous paintings has on the canvas a representation of a swarm of bees with, wrongly, but two wings each. No Agassizian would have painted that.

Some members of the Agassiz Association began to hunt birds with a field glass instead of a gun. They learned that hundreds of birds came and went in orderly migration,

visiting Fairfield in the spring and again in the fall, that many birds stayed with us throughout the year. This bird study by the Agassiz clubs is probably the most persistent of the nature study impulses begun at this time. Bird clubs have become State-wide — nation-wide, and are active everywhere. Local interest in bird study began in the Agassiz club, but whether its general popularity originated there is uncertain.

Some of the Agassizians pressed wild flowers and ferns and mosses. These varied plants pushed away the snow in the spring and marched in close ranks through the summer. Each season there was the pleasure of meeting the common, familiar flower friends and the great joy of finding and coming to know some of the rarer blossoms, or perhaps a puzzling mutant that was full of wonder. One of the outstanding golden moments in the writer's memory was when he first saw the antherozoids from a moss cup swarm across the field of his microscope, active beyond the dreams of his imagination, wonderful to contemplate in their minuteness as are the spreading galaxies of the heavens in their vastness.

Some of these young students collected fungi — toadstools and puffballs and slime moulds. They cooked and ate many varieties of mushrooms and became authority for the residents of the county as to what kinds of fungi were poison and to be avoided. Perhaps in no other field of their studies were the marvels of discovery so great as among the fungi. To the majority of people the fungi are little known. Because of the danger in the genus *Amanita*, this whole order of plants has a bad reputation and its beauties and vast varieties are little appreciated. One fact the writer learned in teaching yet younger children plants' names; the "harder" the long names were, the more easily were they remembered. *Strobilomyces strobil-*

aceus, a cone-like toadstool, once identified was never forgotten by the youngsters.

Many were the happy evenings when all the members of the Agassiz Association who could met at their club house and discussed their discoveries of the day. These disciples of Agassiz had learned that their dooryards and the fields and woods about their home town were filled with a marvelous variety of creatures. In place of a few "bugs" they knew dozens of insects. Instead of a few "toadstools", mostly "poison", they found many fungi, sixty-two varieties of which they later learned to eat with impunity. Where had their eyes been before, that they had been blind to this endless variety in nature?

Friends far and wide gave to the Agassiz Association "specimens" of all kinds — minerals from Colorado, fossil sharks' teeth from the phosphate beds of the South, stuffed birds, butterflies from Brazil, ferns from the tropics, shells and corals from the seashores — until finally a collection of some value and great interest was assembled in this little Agassiz House. Visitors to Fairfield almost daily asked permission to view these wonders and the club members took great pride in acting as hosts. For most of these casual visitors to this town at that date, the simple bits of nature collected in this little brick house were marvelous. Today this is hard to realize. We, who were members of the Agassiz Association, wonder if ever again in this troubled world any group of young people will enjoy the discovery of nature as we did.

Less time was given to astronomy and anthropology by the Fairfield Agassiz Association than to the study of biology and geology. On many clear evenings, however, the members of the Association learned to trace the constellations and note the movements of the planets and learn the names of the first magnitude stars. Blessings on the man

(whose name the writer does not recall) who invented the lantern lighted by candles inside and with replaceable blue print charts of the stars held over a ground glass front. With this we charted the heavens. Our primitive ignorance of the universe was illustrated by a remark by one of the Agassiz Association members after the light of a meteor had vanished — “I did not notice which star it was that shot away”.

In their collecting expeditions and study excursions the Fairfield Agassizians found along the streams and on the hilltops Indian mounds. Fired with laudable curiosity, but uninstructed in the study of anthropology or archaeology, they made special excursions and opened several of these mounds. Charcoal, pottery, and human bones of great age were found and preserved in the Agassiz House cabinets. The lack of scientific care in the excavation and in writing notes made the knowledge of the primitive people derived from these investigations much less than it should have been. But the work done awakened an interest in the pre-historic so that the much finer collections seen later at Davenport, Iowa, were better appreciated. A very slight glimpse into each branch of knowledge may give us an awareness of the vast fields that may be explored.

It was the custom in Iowa at the time of the Agassiz club's existence for the county superintendent of the rural schools to hold a summer “Normal” course of study or institute in each county seat. All the rural school teachers were required to attend these institutes. The Fairfield Agassiz Association determined to entertain and enlighten these Jefferson County teachers; so one evening those attending the institute session were invited to a reception at the Agassiz House. From just after supper until late in the night, the Agassiz Association members exhibited to the teachers their collection of specimens and their methods

of study. The president of the Agassiz club gave an address of welcome to the three hundred guests. The other members of the Association were stationed about the rooms to describe the collections. They announced the scientific names of the birds and insects in the most impressive manner. One of the youngest girls (not over eight years of age) in showing the fungi told just where she had found the fine specimen of *Clitocybe illudens* and how it glowed phosphorescent in the dark. The greatest center of interest was, of course, the microscope on the big revolving table, under which the blood circulated in the web of the frog's foot.

It is hard to realize today that among all these teachers who knew about split infinitives and into how many parts Gaul was divided, very few indeed knew that a bat was not a bird and that snow crystals all have six sides, points, or angles. It seems possible to the writer, thinking in retrospect, that this was the beginning of the movement that put nature study in the public schools. It was certainly anomalous at these receptions to see the children of the Agassiz Association teaching the many teachers that stagnant water was full of beautiful forms of microscopic life and that if the leaves of a plant had parallel veins the flower parts were always in multiple of threes. For several years these Agassiz receptions were a feature of the county "Normal Institutes". And the Fairfield Agassiz Association was but one of many similar clubs in Iowa; but one of several hundred in the United States.

A regular and typical meeting of the Fairfield Agassiz Association was held on August 10, 1882, with the following program:

Correspondence — The Curator

How Agricultural Products Compare with Other Sources
of Wealth in the United States — Florence Lamson

The Most Valuable Fruits of the United States — Nellie Hughes

How Long Will the Coal and Wood of the United States Last? — Fred Clarke

What Is the Difference Between the Fruit of the Apple and That of the Hickory Tree? — Sue Blair

Why Is There not Likely To Be a Famine in the United States? — Jim Wilson

How Long Does It Take Fossils to Form in the River Ooze? — Carrie Lamson

What Two Classes of Animals are Raised to the Most Advantage? — Anna White

State Its Formation (presumably some “specimen”) — Kittie Voorhees

On What Principle are Birds Classified? — Carrie Spielman

Paper by Cassius Cottle

Debate: Which of the Three Kingdoms Furnishes the Most Useful and Interesting Field for Study?

Animal — John Templeton

Vegetable — Walter Slagle

Mineral — John Spielman

Any one of these subjects being enough for months of study and discussion, how this small club touched all in one evening is a marvel that memory, after all the intervening years, fails to answer. Faced by an infinity of questions, all so full of interest, how could these children limit their inquiry. Life was going to be too short to learn all they wanted to know.

But there were winter evening meetings at the Agassiz House quite in contrast to that described above. Each member brought a cup of sugar. The elaborate top of the heating stove was removed and a kettle was put in its place. The sugar was made into “taffy” that was “pulled” and

later eaten. Many such delightful social meetings were experienced in the little Agassiz House. All outdoors was covered with drifting snow—deeper in those days, it seems, than in modern years. The rail fences were covered in many places by the piles of white, over which we could walk. Only a few birds remained in the leafless trees, eating the red and black berries from the abundant shrubs. No flowers or butterflies could be found. It was too cold to trace the constellations of the stars. While eating taffy, to the accompaniment of the crackle of the wood fire in the cosy cabin stove, the club members discussed the adventures of the past summer and made plans for the coming spring when again nature was to awaken. One knew just where Mr. McKnight told him a “lady’s slipper” could be found and another could hardly wait to see if truffles really grew on the banks of Cedar Creek. It would be wonderful to find truffles here in Iowa.

During the years of its existence the influence of the Fairfield Agassiz Association extended throughout Jefferson County, seemingly out of proportion to the size of the group. When citizens of Fairfield had visitors from afar, the little brick Agassiz House was one of the sights to be shown them. Frequently Agassiz club members were asked to unlock the cabin doors and show “our visiting cousins” the shark’s eggs and trap door spider’s nest and all the wonders collected there. The fame of the Agassiz House spread to other communities. Probably because the midwest was ready for the new idea of nature study, rather than that there was any special excellence in the Fairfield Agassiz club, it obtained wide recognition. Many other Iowa Agassiz societies became widely known. Some of these did much more important work than was done at Fairfield, but at this late date the writer, after an active correspondence, finds it impossible to collect the data that should be

recorded to give a true picture of this interesting movement in other Iowa communities.

The Fairfield Agassiz Association always held two annual celebrations — one on May twenty-eighth to commemorate the birth of Louis Agassiz and one on November sixth, celebrating the founding of the Fairfield Chapter. Weather conditions in May were watched with great anxiety by the Agassizians lest their picnic of the twenty-eighth should be interfered with; but to the best memory of all, no weather, however bad, was able to spoil this celebration. One May twenty-eighth is remembered when the group huddled about a field fire, in a heavy snow, using their checkered tablecloths to keep off the storm, and eating their lunch in this frail shelter. On another twenty-eighth of May, rain poured through the cracks in the floor of a bridge under which the picnickers had taken shelter, destroying a magnificent pie that was to have satisfied their hunger: the pie flopped in the mud — a tragedy never forgotten. The November sixth celebrations were usually candy pulls in the warmth of the Agassiz House. Of course, in concession to the seriousness of the occasion, this followed some “scientific” program.

The bi-monthly reports sent to *St. Nicholas* did not mention the social meetings of the club. They told of the receptions to the teachers, of collecting geodes at Bentonsport where the Keokuk geode bed is exposed, of the fossil corals — “Bird’s-Eye” (*Acervularia davidsoni*) and “Fish-Egg” (*Favosites alpenensis*) — that had so interested Agassiz on his visit to Iowa, of the club’s new seventy-five dollar cabinet for insects, and many other important matters. But in the memory of the members of this little club the taffy pulls and picnic lunches were as one in importance with the insect classification and chemical analyses of the more studious hours. Like the Belgian banker ca-

noers met by Robert Louis Stevenson on his "Inland Journey", we often cannot determine which of the activities of life are the most important.

THE IOWA ASSEMBLY OF THE AGASSIZ ASSOCIATION

During the summers of 1883 and 1884, the Agassiz Chapters of Fairfield, Mt. Pleasant, and Washington held joint field meetings and found them very enjoyable. They met in the woods somewhere between the homes of the participating clubs, always with picnic baskets for supper and the contents of these baskets rivaled the collected butterflies and flowers in interest. It became known to the Agassizians through the *St. Nicholas*, that several Philadelphia Chapters of the Association had organized an "Assembly" and held occasional conventions. Following this Philadelphia example and because of the enjoyment of their inter-city picnics, on the invitation of the Fairfield Chapter, an Iowa Assembly of the Agassiz Association was organized at Fairfield in August, 1884. Delegates from at least six Chapters of the Association were present. Because of inexperience in such matters and a failure to recognize the importance of the preservation of records, details of this meeting have apparently been lost. All that is now known is that the Fairfield Microscopical Club held a reception for this Assembly and that Fred Clarke of Fairfield was elected the first president of the Iowa Assembly of the Agassiz Association and that Cedar Rapids was chosen as the next place of meeting. Fairfield had added another to its list of "firsts" in civic activities.

In August, 1885, the Iowa Assembly of the Agassiz Association met in Cedar Rapids. The delegates from the several Iowa Chapters were entertained in the homes of the members of the Cedar Rapids Agassiz club. The records of this meeting are lost. The president made a formal

address on "The Unity of Nature". He cited the definiteness of the series in the atomic weights of material atoms. He spoke of the probability that the elements lacking (to complete the series) would soon be discovered, and that finally all elements would be shown to be one. He spoke of the conservation of energy and the transformation of one form of energy into another, as heat into light. He concluded that all energy is one. He then proposed the thesis that energy and matter would be shown to be one — the Universe was one.

Such has now come to be the common belief, but no credit is due to the president of the Iowa Assembly of the Agassiz Association, for he was, at the time, a student under Dr. Gustavus D. Hinrichs of the Iowa State University. To Dr. Hinrichs, far ahead of his time in thought, is due all credit. His students did not at that time realize the rare privilege of being in his classes.

The members of the Cedar Rapids Chapter of the Agassiz Association so royally entertained the visiting Chapters that the following year a National Association meeting in Iowa became a possibility. E. P. Boynton of Cedar Rapids was elected president of the Iowa Assembly of the Agassiz Association and Davenport was chosen as the next place of meeting. It was decided at this Cedar Rapids meeting to award three diplomas each year to the Chapters of the Association in Iowa doing the best work for the year.

Because the Iowa Assembly of the Agassiz clubs furnished the best nucleus for a national convention of the Agassiz Association, President Ballard accepted an invitation from Iowa to hold a national meeting in Davenport in 1886, in conjunction with the third meeting of the Iowa Assembly, on August 24-27, 1886. That August the Agassiz Association reported twelve thousand members.

The following committees responsible for the Davenport

meeting included, perhaps, the most active members of the Iowa Assembly at that date:

Invitation and Printing — E. P. Boynton, Cedar Rapids, Chairman; Will Clute, Iowa City; Edward K. Putnam, Davenport

Hotels and Transportation — Edward K. Putnam, Davenport, Chairman; Fred W. Gage, Fairfield; E. P. Boynton, Cedar Rapids

Program — J. Fred Clarke, Fairfield, Chairman; E. B. Sanders, Davenport; C. Carper, Burlington; Gustav Finger, Davenport

Entertainment — Edward K. Putnam, Davenport, Chairman; Glen A. Gordon, Muscatine; Gustav Finger, Davenport

Banquet — Charles S. Williston, Edith Ross, and George B. Little, Davenport

Toasts — J. G. Spielman and Carrie Lamson, Fairfield

Decorations — Louis Block, Edith Ross, and Gustav Finger, all of Davenport

Finances — E. P. Boynton, Cedar Rapids, Chairman; Will Clute, Iowa City; J. G. Spielman, Fairfield; Lollie Crane, Mt. Pleasant

Reception — E. B. Sanders, Davenport, Chairman; Cassius C. Cottle, Fairfield; Glen Averill, Cedar Rapids; Fanny Belt, Cedar Rapids; Nell Cox, Iowa City; Lollie Crane, Mt. Pleasant; Edith Ross, Cora Bollinger, Charles Williston, John Ballard, Edward K. Putnam, and George B. Little, Davenport

The reception committee and the State officers were to wear white badges. President Ballard came from Massachusetts for this second national convention of the Agassiz Association. The first convention of this kind had been held in Philadelphia. Some thirty Agassiz clubs were represented by delegates at the Davenport meeting. Those

present were mostly from Iowa. Some came from Illinois, a few from Philadelphia, and one Minnesota Chapter was represented. E. P. Boynton, president of the Iowa Assembly, presided at the Assembly sessions which met before the national convention was opened by President Ballard. In his address President Boynton discussed the best methods of study. He said that at Cedar Rapids the Chapter first studied all biology, but later each member selected a few subjects and devoted all his time to these, with much more profit and pleasure. He contrasted life before and after the Agassiz Association had stimulated observation.

After the address the committee previously appointed to decide which Chapter had done the best work in the past year, gave first place to Chapter 20 of Fairfield. The second award was given to Chapter 514 of Iowa City and the third to Chapter 64 of Cedar Rapids, while honorable mention was made of Chapters 158 and 813 of Davenport, 424 of Decorah, and 887 of Grinnell.

Charles E. Putnam, president of the Davenport Academy of Science, gave the welcoming address to the National Agassiz Association and President Ballard responded. Scientific papers were read. There was a formal reception and a banquet was held at the Kimball Hotel on Wednesday, August 25, 1886, with a postprandial program of toasts and responses as follows:

Professor T. H. McBride [Macbride], University of Iowa, Toast Master

Louis Agassiz — Professor H. H. Ballard, Lenox, Mass.

The Scientists Who Help Us — Frank Wentworth, Chicago

Fossils — W. R. Lighton, Leavenworth, Kansas, read by Miss Helen L. Clark, Cedar Rapids

The Agassiz Association in the Home — Rev. O. Clute, Iowa City

Our Girls — Glen Gordon, Muscatine

Our Visitors — President of Waseka (Minn.) Chapter

Our Boys — Edith Ross, Davenport

The Iowa Assembly of the Agassiz Association — E. P. Boynton, Cedar Rapids

The Agassiz Association in the School — (name not recorded)

Our Future — John Shallcross, Philadelphia

One could wish now that John Shallcross's speech had been preserved. He probably did not, at this high water mark of the Agassiz Association, visualize the passing of the movement so soon. He probably did not realize the influence these Agassiz clubs were to have on the educational system of the country, an influence that made the continued existence of the Agassiz Association unnecessary. The meeting on August 26th was spent in a visit to the government Arsenal on Rock Island and later in the discussion of questions from the "Question Box" previously prepared. At an afternoon session President Ballard gave an address and representatives from the various Chapters demonstrated their methods of study. In the evening Professor Thomas H. McBride [Macbride] gave a lecture on Bernard Palissy, the French potter and naturalist — a lecture so delightful that the writer thirty-two years later, while serving in France with the American Expeditionary Forces, searched (though in vain) for some specimen of that wonderful pottery Palissy had made.

The following day (August 27th) was spent on the Mississippi River. This was a collecting excursion and a basket picnic. In the evening the visitors were guests at a meeting of the Davenport Academy of Sciences which at that time was one of the prominent academies of the United States, noted for its anthropological studies.

Attendance at this Davenport meeting of the Iowa As-

sembly of the Agassiz Association was a notable event in the lives of the young people who were present. Its influences were far reaching. It must have been a great satisfaction to Professor Ballard to know that he had accomplished a great work by awakening in the young people of the United States a desire for the study of natural science and an awareness of the creatures that inhabit the earth and of the changing world in which they live.

There were never any fees or dues paid into the general Agassiz Association from the local societies. Aside from a possible compensation from the *St. Nicholas*, Professor Harlan H. Ballard's work for this movement must have been a labor of love.

The papers read at the Agassiz Assembly at Davenport and at the other Agassiz Association meetings added little to the knowledge of science but they mirrored the awakening of the young people of Iowa to the wonders of nature. The field glass was replacing the gun as an instrument for the hunting of birds. The eyes and ears of children were becoming more useful. The abundant life was becoming more common in Iowa. A few, out of the many Agassizians, were finding a career in the realm of natural science.

Edith Ross of Davenport was elected the third president of the Iowa Assembly of the Agassiz Association and Iowa City was chosen as the next place of meeting.

The fourth convention of the Iowa Assembly of the Agassiz Association was held in Iowa City on August 23-27, 1887. Miss Ross appointed Louis Block of Davenport, chairman of a committee of arrangements, and in this as in all things he was active and proficient in his work. There were, in 1887, 980 Chapters of the Agassiz Association in the United States, with a total membership of twelve thousand. The host Chapter of the Iowa Assembly at Iowa City had twenty-six members and held its meetings in the

basement of the Unitarian Church at the corner of Iowa Avenue and Clinton Street.

The delegates assembled on Thursday, August 23rd, and were assigned as guests in the homes of the local members. There was, at the first session, an address of welcome by Arthur J. Cox of Iowa City, responded to by Miss Ross, the president. The feature of the first day was a lecture by Dr. A. E. Rockey on "Microscopical Pond Life". This was illustrated by the use of a projection microscope. On August 24th the different Chapters gave reports and scientific papers were read. Later the delegates visited the Museum of the State University of Iowa. In the evening a reception was held at the home of T. J. Cox. At this reception, Professor T. S. Parvin, a friend of Louis Agassiz, addressed the Assembly, relating personal anecdotes of the great naturalist for whom the Association was named.

Some years before this meeting, Louis Agassiz had visited Iowa City. A group of several University people took him up the Iowa River to Coralville. Agassiz became very enthusiastic on this collecting expedition and did not want to pass a single fossil coral. His guides put in piles all they could find and later brought several barrels, filled them with these specimens of corals, and sent them by freight to Professor Agassiz's laboratory at Harvard University.

The annual banquet of the Agassiz Assembly was held the next evening in the parlors of the Unitarian Church, Fred Clarke of Fairfield acting as toast master. The after dinner program was as follows:

Victuals and Drink — Louis Block, Chapter 158, Davenport

Our Ascidian Ancestors — Will M. Clute, Chapter 514, Iowa City

The Rodents — John N. Houghton, Chapter 887, Grinnell
Pandora — Lollie Crane, Chapter 700, Mt. Pleasant

The Inhabitants of the Mounds — Helen Cattell, Chapter 150, Davenport

Aladdin and his Lamp — Arthur Beavis, Chapter 514, Iowa City

Potato Bugs — Olive Cole, Chapter 700, Mt. Pleasant

Mars and Venus — Ella Hoffman, Chapter 20, Fairfield

The Geodes — Frank E. Wetherell, Chapter 540, Oskaloosa

1880-1887-1987—Lynds Jones, Chapter 887, Grinnell

A pleasant surprise after the banquet was a serenade, by the very fine band of the University of Iowa.

At the formal session of this Iowa Assembly, Miss Ross, the president, gave an address that, unfortunately, is not preserved in available records. A "Question Box" was opened and the questions discussed. From the few secretarial notes preserved one finds that C. C. Trine, of Marshalltown, talked on honey bees; Lynds Jones, of Grinnell, discussed the causes of bird migrations; and H. J. Brown, of Davenport, read a paper entitled "Fossil Birds". At a final session Arthur J. Cox of Iowa City was elected president of the Assembly for the coming year and Mt. Pleasant was selected as the next place of meeting. It was apparent to all of us visitors to Iowa City that Reverend O. Clute was the mainstay of the local Agassiz Chapter.

On August 20, 1888, the Iowa Assembly of the Agassiz Association met in the city library at Mt. Pleasant. Thirteen of the twenty-eight Iowa Chapters of the Association were represented by more than sixty delegates. There was a reception at the home of Miss Lollie Crane. One session was devoted to a visit to the State Hospital for the Insane, where the superintendent entertained the visitors in his laboratory with a most interesting lecture.

The president of the Assembly, Arthur J. Cox of Iowa City, gave an address at one session and several papers

were read. One by T. A. Bereman, an honorary member of the Mt. Pleasant Chapter, was entitled "A Visit to the Plutonian Regions". Florence Lamson of Fairfield read a paper, as did Fred B. Palmer, Ralph W. Cram, H. F. Hednar, Elva McElroy, Clara Tallman, and Willis E. Brooks. It was for this Assembly that Bertha M. Horack (later Mrs. Benj. F. Shambaugh) of Chapter 514, Iowa City, prepared an illustrated paper on "Lepidoptera", a report of which in the *Swiss Cross* led to a request for an exchange of specimens from a naturalist in Japan.

At the final session, John G. Spielman of Fairfield was elected president of the Assembly; Fred B. Palmer of Oskaloosa and Fred M. Irish of Dubuque, vice presidents; Olive Cole of Mt. Pleasant, secretary; and Belmont Goan, treasurer. Oskaloosa was selected as the next place of meeting.

This meagre record of the fifth Agassiz Assembly is entirely inadequate. Mt. Pleasant is a small city of homes occupied by most delightful people. For more than a century now this community has had a way of charming visitors. Even had the Agassiz Assembly records been preserved, they would not have expressed the intangible things which made this meeting a most delightful event in Iowa history.

These Agassizians had spent several years associated in intensely interesting studies. Most of them were about to graduate into more serious life vocations. They did not appreciate the fact that, perhaps, never again in the world would there be a group privileged to open doors such as they had opened and to pioneer in the realms of nature. Such knowledge as they had acquired was to become common knowledge and the wonder of it was to be no more.

On August 20, 1889, the Iowa Assembly of the Agassiz Association met in Oskaloosa. The sessions were held in

the Grand Army Hall in the courthouse and in the Presbyterian Church. A. W. Swalm, of the *Oskaloosa Herald*, called the meeting to order, delivered an address of welcome, and introduced the president of the Assembly, John G. Spielman, of Fairfield. Committees reported and a nominating committee was appointed. At 8 o'clock in the evening, President Spielman delivered the annual presidential address. His subject was "Vision" and showed an elaborate study of the refraction of light. The address was printed in full in the *Oskaloosa Herald*. At 9 o'clock the Oskaloosa Chapters (No. 540 and No. 653) gave a reception to the visiting delegates at the home of the Misses Anne and Gertie Spencer. This was a delightful social affair.

At the following sessions papers were read, one from each of the nine visiting Chapters and music numbers were presented at each meeting. One evening a Microscopical Soiree was given to the Assembly members by the citizens of Oskaloosa. Thursday, August 22nd, was "Field Day". All met at the courthouse and then made excursions to the woods. In the evening Professor Erasmus Haworth of Penn College gave a lecture on "Original Investigation". On Friday, August 23rd, the meetings of the Assembly were held in the Presbyterian Church. Papers were read on "Bird Migration", "Spiders", "The Conquest of Perfection", and other subjects. These were interspersed with music. Professor Scott of Penn College, a member of the Oskaloosa Chapter, was present and spoke of the "Lessons Learned from the Life of Agassiz". He strongly urged each student to undertake a single line of definite study, after a thorough preparation. A debate was then held on the question: "Resolved that the Interior of the Earth is a Molten Mass". This was affirmed by Lynds Jones of Grinnell and Louis Block of Davenport and was denied by

Arthur J. Cox of Iowa City and Fred M. Irish of Dubuque. The Assembly diplomas were awarded, but to whom is not recorded in any published account of the meeting. In the evening of this day there was a reception and a banquet at the residence of Mrs. Tracey, 418 High Avenue East. A band concert enlivened the program.

At the final meeting officers for the coming year were elected: president, Frank E. Wetherell of Oskaloosa; vice presidents, George Messenger of Des Moines and Mollie Green of Oskaloosa; secretary, Bertha Harvey of Fairfield; and treasurer, Lynds Jones of Grinnell. The visiting delegates of the ten Chapters all spoke in high praise of the work of the Oskaloosa Chapters in the preparation for the delightful convention.

So far as the writer knows, this Oskaloosa session was the last meeting of the Iowa Assembly of the Agassiz Association. The writer graduated in medicine in that year and began his internship in Philadelphia. Many other active members of the Agassiz Association began their life work and of necessity found it necessary to neglect their club activities. The purposes for which these groups had been created had been accomplished. The schools took up the work and nature study became general. In retrospect the end of this activity seems sudden but could one know of the many Agassiz Chapters throughout Iowa, it is probable he would find that the interest gradually lessened as more and more of the members had to devote their time to some life work.

The writer well remembers a long talk with Edna West, in which plans were made for a large permanent home for the Agassiz Association which, in our opinion then, was never to die. Senator James F. Wilson, in 1888, persuaded his friend, Andrew Carnegie, to build in Fairfield, Iowa, the first, outside of Pittsburgh, of his many libraries. In

this library Senator Wilson set aside one room for the Agassiz Association and this room today is known as the Agassiz Room. By the time this room was ready, however, the interest in the Agassiz Association was waning and the new quarters never became important. Later Edna West married, moved to the West, and the duties of domestic life stopped her studies of butterflies, ferns, and mosses.

So it has been with a large proportion of the young people who were Iowa disciples of Louis Agassiz. The problems of bread and butter, of raising their own children, of stopping the leak in the home roof — so many of these unimportant worries shut out from their lives the really serious work with the butterfly net and the bird glass. But the visions of the flowers and the birds and the stars were not all lost in their later life. All were happier and better because as Agassizians they had learned to see what was about them and to hear the music of animate nature. Many of us whose childhood was in the decade of the 1880's think that Professor Harlan H. Ballard of Lenox, Massachusetts, did an important educational work in the United States.

J. FRED CLARKE

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The Indians of the Western Great Lakes 1615-1760. By W. Vernon Kinietz. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1940. Pp. 428. Map. This volume is published in paper covers as Number 10 of the *Occasional Contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan*. It contains historical and descriptive material on the Huron, Miami, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Chippewa Indian tribes; a bibliography; a *Memoir Concerning the Different Indian Nations of North America*, by Antoine Denis Raudot; and an index. The author describes the history, dress, economic customs, food, social life, medicines, and religious beliefs of these Indian tribes as derived from a study of documents in archives at Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec, Chicago, Ann Arbor, and Washington, D. C. Although the period is too early for historic Iowa, the descendants of some of these Indians lived in this State later.

The Susquehannock Fort on Piscataway Creek, by Alice L. L. Ferguson, is one of the articles in *The Maryland Historical Magazine* for March.

Rampant Individualism in the Republic of Texas, by William Ransom Hogan, is one of the articles in the April number of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has recently published Volume V in the series *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. It was edited by Adelaide L. Fries.

Woodland-Like Manifestations in Nebraska, by A. T. Hill and Marvin Kivett, with an introduction by Addison E. Sheldon, makes up the issue of *Nebraska History* for July-September, 1940.

The two articles in *The Colorado Magazine* for May are *Indian*

Terms for the Cradle and the Cradleboard, by Victor F. Lotrich, and *Christ of the Rockies*, by Sister M. Lilliana Owens.

Hennepin's "Description of Louisiana", Part II, by Jean Delanglez; and *Investigations into the Causes of the Pima Uprising of 1751*, by Russell C. Ewing, are the two articles in the April number of *Mid-America*.

The *Annual Report of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* for 1940 contains a checklist of books and pamphlets in the Society's library relating to William Henry Harrison and the campaign of 1840.

John Steuart Curry and the Midwest, by Grant Wood, and *Wisconsin Landscape*, by Thomas H. Benton, are two short articles in an advertising pamphlet distributed by the Demco Library Supplies of Madison.

Erastus F. Beadle, Dime Novel King, by Della T. Lutes; *In the Footsteps of Mormon*, by Morris Bishop; and *The Present Status of Archeology in New York State*, by William A. Ritchie, are three of the articles in *New York History* for April.

Ancestral Trails Along the Mohawk, an address by L. Worrick McFee, at the Genealogical Conference of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, at Madison, Wisconsin, on October 17, 1940, has been printed in *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* for April.

Wilderness Rendezvous Period of the American Fur Trade, by Carl P. Russell; *Some Letters from 1792-1800 on the China Trade*, by Grace Parker Morris; and *Debt of Pacific Northwest to Dr. Joseph Schafer*, by Alfred Powers, are the three articles in the *Oregon Historical Review* for March.

Charles Fremont Amidon (President of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1905-1923), by Beulah Amidon Ratliff; *Fort Lincoln State Park*, by Russell Reid; and *Pioneering in North Dakota*, by Charles H. Hobart, are the three articles in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for January.

Recent Side-Lights on Aztalan, by W. C. McKern; *Painted and Incised Pottery Fragments of the Winnebagos*, by Ralph N. Buckstaff; *Periodical Publications of State Archeological Societies*; and *Wisconsin Archeological Survey, 1940*, are the articles in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for March.

The March number of *The Pacific Historical Review* includes the following papers and articles: *Upper Missouri Agency: An Account of Indian Administration on the Frontier*, by Chester L. Guthrie and Leo L. Gerald; and *News and Opinion Concerning America in English Newspapers, 1754-1763*, by Dan E. Clark.

A third chapter of *Miller County, Arkansas Territory: The Frontier That Men Forgot*, by Rex W. Strickland; *The Civil War in the Indian Territory*, by Dean Trickett; and *History of the Osage Blanket Lease*, by Gerald Forbes, are three of the articles in the March issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

The Life and Times of John Pope, 1770-1845, by Orval W. Baylor; *The French in Early Kentucky*, by Huntley Dupre; *Memorials for Kentucky*, by Hambleton Tapp; and *The Filson Club's Finances, 1930-1940*, by Allen M. Reager, are the articles in the April number of *The Filson Club History Quarterly*.

Frontier Education in Spanish Louisiana, by Ernest R. Liljgren; *Fort Orleans of the Missouri*, by Gilbert J. Garraghan; *Major Alphonso Wetmore*, by Kate L. Gregg; and *The Southern Press in Missouri, 1861-1864*, by William F. Swindler, are the contributions in *The Missouri Historical Review* for April.

The April issue of *The American Historical Review* contains the following articles: *The Quality of Distinction*, by Max Farrand; *Escape to the Present*, by Jesse Dunsmore Clarkson; and *The Sick Poor in Colonial Times*, by Albert Deutsch. Under *Documents* there is *Charles Carroll's Plan of Government*, edited by Philip A. Crowl.

The Spring number of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains the following papers and articles: *George Byron Catlin: The Story of a Rolling Stone*, by George W. Stark; *Contributions of*

the Slovenes to the Chippewa and Ottawa Indian Missions, by Joseph Gregorich; and *LaSalle's Trip Across Southern Michigan in 1680*, by Clifford H. Prator.

The Pennsylvania Historical Society has recently published *A History of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania* in two volumes, compiled by Hampton L. Carson. These two volumes were made possible by a special centennial publication fund. The history was begun in 1924 when the Society celebrated its centennial anniversary and was completed just before Mr. Carson's death in 1929.

Nebraska History for April-June, 1940, includes the following contributions: *Helen May Martin—Her Book of Life*, by Loraine Ferris; *Music of the Pioneer Days in Nebraska*, by Miriam Stanley Carleton-Squires; *John Brown's Cabin at Nebraska City*, by Wayne Overturf; *The Day of a Farmer's Wife*, by Irene Hamilton Scott; and *A Bank Book and Early Nebraska History*, by Loraine Ferris.

St. Paul: The Personality of a City, an address by Grace Flandrau; *An Upper Mississippi Excursion of 1845*, by John Francis McDermott; *The Minnesota Historical Society in 1940*, by Arthur J. Larsen; and *The 1941 Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society*, by Bertha L. Heilbron, are articles and addresses in *Minnesota History* for March. Under *Notes and Documents* there is *St. Paul in 1849*, by Sarah A. Davidson.

The March issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the following articles and papers: *John M. Bozeman, Montana Trailmaker*, by Merrill G. Burlingame; *The Revival of the African Slave Trade in the United States, 1856-1860*, by Harvey Wish; *The Labor-Populist Alliance in Illinois, 1894*, by Chester McA. Destler; and *Proposals for a French Company for Spanish Louisiana, 1763-1764*, edited by Allan Christelow.

The Story of Henry Wells Expressman and College Founder, by George Arms; *Early Maryland Architects*, by William Sener Rusk; *His [Benjamin Franklin] Mother's Kindred, Part 2*, by Ada Harriet Baldwin; *A Saga of Pulp and Paper Making*, by Edwin Pierson Conklin; *Ossian Anderson, Industrial Leader*, by J. J.

McDonald; and *Henry Dolfinger, Business Leader*, by M. F. Johnson, are articles in the April number of *Americana*.

The Northern Clergy and the Impending Crisis, 1850-1860, by George Harmon; and the *Journal of Griffith Evans, 1784-1785*, edited by Hallock F. Raup, are two of the articles in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for April. The original journal of Griffith Evans is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California. Evans was clerk of the Pennsylvania Commissioners at the negotiation of treaties at Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh.

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly for April includes: a *Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in Louisiana*, prepared by The Historical Records Survey Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration; *The Successors of Laffite*, by John Smith Kendall; *The Genesis of Germantown, Louisiana: or the Mysterious Past of Louisiana's Mystic, Count De Leon*, by Karl J. R. Arndt; and *New Orleans Under General Butler*, by Howard Palmer Johnson.

Covered Timber Bridges (with a directory), by Richard C. Smith; *Presbyterianism in the Old Northwest*, by William W. Sweet; *A Utopian Failure* (Monroe County, Indiana), by Richard Simons; and *Some Kentucky Genealogical Sources*, by Lucien Beckner, are some of the papers in the *Indiana History Bulletin* for February. An article on *The Tulip Tree*, by A. T. Guard, is included in the number for March. Another article in this number is *Historical Societies*, by Elmer C. Jerman.

The March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* includes *The Croasdale Painting of Lincoln*, by John Perry Pritchett; *The Religious Environment of Lincoln's Youth*, by John F. Cady; *Thomas R. Marshall*, by H. S. K. Bartholomew; *The New Harmony Manuscript Collections*, by Roger A. Hurst; *Some Barker Family History*, by William L. Barker; and *At De Pauw Fifty Years Ago*, by Homer Eiler. Under *Documents* there is *The Vincennes Days of Zachary Taylor*, edited by Holman Hamilton. The editor, William O. Lynch, contributes *The Spirit of Historical Scholarship*.

Memorial to Joseph Schafer, by John D. Hicks; *William Horlick Jr.*, by E. B. Hand; *Walter J. Kohler*, by Charles E. Broughton; *Dr. Victor Kutchin*, by W. A. Titus; *Presbyterian and Congregational Missionaries in Early Wisconsin*, by Richard D. Leonard; and *Daniel Whitney: Pioneer Wisconsin Businessman*, by Alice E. Smith, are articles in the March number of *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Documents include *Zachary Taylor and the Black Hawk War*, by Holman Hamilton, and a continuation of *Letters of Charles Richard Van Hise*. The Editorial Comment is *Rodney Howard True A Wisconsin Gift to Washington and Philadelphia*.

The March issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* contains the following articles: *Charles S. Deneen, 1863-1940*, by Roy O. West and William C. Walton; *A Confederate Prisoner at Rock Island: The Diary of Lafayette Rogan*, edited by John H. Hauberg; *Quincy, an Outpost of Philosophy*, by Paul Russell Anderson; *Zachary Taylor in Illinois*, by Holman Hamilton; and *Illinois in 1940*, by Mildred Eversole. Under *Historical Notes* there is an exchange of remarks by Otto Eisenschiml and Emerson Hinchcliff concerning the latter's comment on *Lincoln and the "Reaper Case"* in the September, 1940, number. There is also a short account of *The Springfield Mechanics Union (1839-1848)*, by Harry E. Pratt.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly for January-March contains the following articles: *Three Centuries of the Maumee Valley* and *The Story of the Maumee Valley International Historical Convention*, both by M. M. Quaife; *Good Will on Ancient Battlegrounds*, by Carl Wittke; *Good Will in Fields of Peace*, by Louis Blake Duff; *Our Glamorous History*, by R. Clyde Ford; *Address at the Grave of Johnny Appleseed*, by Robert C. Harris; *Captain Thomas Morris on the Maumee*, by Howard H. Peckham; *The Indians Who Opposed Harmar*, by Otho Winger; *The Harmar Expedition of 1790*, by Randolph G. Adams; *Defiance in History*, by Francis Phelps Weisenburger; *Religion and the Westward March*, by William W. Sweet; and *Ohio's History in the Place of Our National Development*, by John W. Bricker. *Judge Turg  e and Reconstruction*, by Russel B. Nye; *Ohio in McGuf-*

fey's Time, by George W. Rightmire; and *Major George W. Rue, the Captor of General John Morgan*, by William Marion Miller, are three articles in the number for April-June. There is also a *Select List of Materials on Ohio History in Serial Publications*, compiled by William D. Overman.

IOWANA

Iowa's State-Owned Recreation Areas, by R. B. Wheeler, is one of the articles in *The Iowa Sportsman* for May.

Library Frontiers, a radio talk by Mrs. H. C. Houghton, on the Women's Program, Farm and Home Week, February 13, 1941, appears in the *Iowa Library Quarterly* for January-February-March.

What of the Iowa Poets? by Jessie Welborn Smith, has been published in pamphlet form by Henry Harrison, Poetry Publisher, of New York City.

The First Presbyterian Church of Iowa City has recently published *One Hundred Years of Presbyterianism in Iowa City, Iowa, 1840-1940*, by Jacob Van der Zee, church historian.

Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers' Association, by Kenneth E. Colton; and *Baseball! The Story of Iowa's Early Innings*, by the Writers Program of the Iowa W. P. A., are the two articles in the April number of the *Annals of Iowa*.

Economic Trends in Livestock Marketing, by Sam H. Thompson, Professor of Agricultural Economics at Iowa State College, has recently been issued in planographed form. The volume is bound and provided with footnote references and a bibliography.

Early Jones County Medical History, by Fred B. Sigworth, is one of the historical articles in *The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society* for April. The May issue contains a biographical sketch of Dr. Fred Moore who for many years served as Director of School Health Service at Des Moines.

Isaac Augustus Wetherby and His Account Books, by H. Maxson

Holloway, is one of the articles in *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* for April. Isaac Wetherby, a painter and photographer, was born in Rhode Island in 1819 and came to Iowa City in 1859 where he died in 1904.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

Death of George W. Dashiell, district court judge of the second judicial district, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, March 3, 1941.

Death of Muscatine's last Civil War veteran, J. H. Miller, in the *Muscatine Journal*, March 3, 1941.

Wedding of Mr. and Mrs. Arie Vriezelaar sixty years ago, in the *Newton News*, March 5, 1941.

Death of Carl Aschenbrenner, physician at Pella for many years, in the *Pella Chronicle*, March 6, 1941.

Career of Oscar L. Olson, of Luther College, in the *Decorah Journal*, March 6, 1941.

Early Fayette County history, by T. D. Peterman, in the *Arlington News*, March 6, 20, 27, April 3, 10, 17, 24, May 1, 8, 1941.

Mr. and Mrs. William H. Tuttle celebrate sixty-seventh wedding anniversary, in the *Webster City Freeman-Journal*, March 6, 1941.

John A. Story and George Titus recall early days in legislature, by Louis Cook, Jr., in the *Des Moines Register*, March 7, 1941.

Sketch of the life of Frank E. Ellis, by Edward Luckiesh, in the *Maquoketa Community Press*, March 11, 1941.

F. E. Hronek recalls pioneer days in Pocahontas County, in the *Humboldt Independent*, March 11, 1941.

Death of Francis Roy Moore, author of "Wapello Chief", fictional history of Wapello County, in the *Des Moines Register*, March 11, 1941.

Mrs. George W. Clarke presents 1917 electric auto to State His-

torical Department, in the *Des Moines Register*, March 12, 1941.

Recollections of Mrs. Emeline Larrabee Perkins, sister of former Governor William Larrabee, in the *North Iowa Times* (McGregor), March 13, 1941.

Death of Halla M. Rhode, former director of Indian studies at the Historical Department at Des Moines, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, March 13, 1941.

Death of S. S. Bertram, Civil War veteran, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel*, March 15, 1941.

Old photographs relating to Davenport and Scott County, in the *Davenport Democrat*, March 16, 1941.

Stagecoach days, by Kenneth E. Colton, in the *Sioux City Journal*, March 16, 22, 1941.

Sketch of the life of Amos B. Craven, pioneer of Kellogg, in the *Newton News*, March 17, 1941.

The Luren Singing Society of Decorah was organized March 17, 1868, in the *Decorah Public Opinion*, March 18, 1941.

Sketch of the life of Judge Alva E. Taylor, in the *Cherokee Times*, March 19, 1941.

Sketch of the life of David C. Mott, in the *Indianola Tribune*, March 19, 1941.

Genevieve Rowe, radio singing star, is from Tabor, in the *Tabor Beacon*, March 19, 1941.

Anthony Thompson at the Old Mission in the "Early Fayette County History" series, by T. D. Peterman, in the *Arlington News*, March 20, 1941.

Story of Claude M. Cheney, president of the Waterloo, Cedar Falls & Northern Railroad, in the *Dyersville Commercial*, March 20, 1941.

James Rockford writes about early days at Mitchell, in the *Osage Press*, March 20, 1941.

Some history of the Bethel Grove Methodist Church, by J. H. Platt, in the *Montezuma Republican*, March 20, 1941.

Mrs. Martha Freeman Jenkins, 101, came to Iowa in 1858, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, March 20, and the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, March 21, 1941.

Story of Gen. Hancock post, G. A. R., of Sioux City, by Gertrude Henderson, in the *Sioux City Journal*, March 23, 1941.

Relics of an old Indian village uncovered near Westfield, in the *Sioux City Journal*, March 24, 1941.

Death of William J. Shuck, Appanoose County's oldest Civil War veteran, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, March 24, 1941.

Some prices of pioneer times shown by early account books, in the *Adel News*, March 26, 1941.

Some Sac County history, by Mrs. C. M. Mohler, in the *Odebolt Chronicle*, March 27, 1941.

Battleship *Iowa* fired first shot in Spanish-American War, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune*, March 27, 1941.

Mrs. Mary Reed recalls James boys at Castana, posing as land-buyers, in the *Cherokee Courier*, March 27, 1941.

Sketch of the life of Judge Horace H. Carter, in the *Des Moines Register and Tribune*, March 27, and the *Mt. Pleasant News*, March 31, 1941.

Death of William Cochrane, businessman, and former State Senator, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, March 28, 1941.

Sketch of the life of William R. Cooper, attorney and abstractor and former Jasper County Representative in the State legislature, in the *Newton News*, March 29, 1941.

White's Manual Labor Institute, operated by Quakers for home-

less children, to be revived at New Providence, by George Shane, in the *Des Moines Register*, March 30, 1941.

Sketch of the life of William Cochrane, prominent businessman of Red Oak, and former Congressman of Iowa, in the *Red Oak Express*, March 31, 1941.

An old Hamburg mill, in the *Hamburg Reporter*, April 3, 1941.

Smithland has log cabin museum, in the *Anthon Herald*, April 9, 1941.

Death of former State Representative George L. Mitchell, in the *Maquoketa Community Press*, April 10, and the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, April 12, 1941.

A country school seventy-five years ago, in the *Ankeny Times*, April 11, 1941.

Mr. and Mrs. William Reuter celebrate sixty-second wedding anniversary, in the *Davenport Times*, April 11, 1941.

Career of Isaac A. Wetherby, pioneer photographer, told in the *New York Historical Society Bulletin*, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, April 12, 1941.

Melvin L. Lewis, of Sioux Rapids, recalls slave auction, in the *Spencer Reporter*, April 12, 1941.

Chicago Tribune begins index of newspaper, in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 13, 1941.

The founder and founding of the L. H. Kurtz Hardware Company, in the *Des Moines Register*, April 13, 1941.

Mrs. Lydia Lyon, of Onslow, came to Iowa in 1854, by Carl Dueser, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, April 13, and the *Anamosa Journal*, April 17, 1941.

Rockley Whipple, last Civil War veteran of Cerro Gordo County, dies, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, April 14, 17, 1941.

Death of John Palmer Nye, prominent businessman of Shenandoah, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel*, April 15, 1941.

Sketch of the life of J. Tracy Garrett, in the *Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette*, the *Davenport Times*, the *Des Moines Tribune*, the *Ottumwa Courier*, and the *Des Moines Register*, April 15, 1941.

Preservation of old Pleasant Grove church in Story County, in the *Nevada Journal*, April 18, 1941.

Fort Des Moines postal service began in 1904, in the *Des Moines American Citizen*, April 18, 1941.

Sketch of the life of Frank A. Moscrip, editor of the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, and once "master editor-publisher", in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican* and the *Des Moines Register*, April 21, 1941.

The 1882 cyclone, as told by Hugh Shepherd, in the *Postville Herald*, April 23, 1941.

J. W. Arbuckle tells the story of his life in his book "Yesterday and Tomorrow", in the *Allison Tribune*, April 23, 1941.

Legend of "Isis", the statue at the Hoover birthplace, in the *West Branch Times*, April 24, 1941.

Memorial for grave of Revolutionary soldier near Eddyville, by O. H. Seifert, in the *Eddyville Tribune*, April 24, 1941.

Early days of Lime Springs, in the *Lime Springs Herald*, April 24, 1941.

Death of George W. Kays, last Civil War veteran of Buchanan County, in the *Waterloo Courier*, April 25, 1941.

Old log cabin near Sioux Rapids, in the *Spencer Reporter*, April 25, 1941.

J. W. Hufford came to the Des Moines vicinity in 1851, in the *Grimes Citizen*, April 25, 1941.

Mail carrier recalls experiences in eighteen fifties, in the *Washington Journal*, April 29, 1941.

The Middle River Primitive Baptist Church in Madison County

was organized in 1848, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, April 30, 1941.

Trinity Lutheran Church in Lowden celebrated its seventieth anniversary, in the *Davenport Times*, April 30, 1941.

First settlers of Jasper County came to Monroe on April 23, 1843, in the *Pella Chronicle*, May 1, 1941.

German Hotel, old Oxford landmark, is torn down, in the *Johnson County Democrat* (Oxford), May 1, 1941.

What did the Yankee historian of 1872 write about Pella, from William M. Donnel's *Pioneers of Marion County*, in the *Pella Chronicle*, May 1, 1941.

Story of "The Little Grave on the Right of Way" near Homestead, by G. A. Ellis, in the *Marengo Pioneer-Republican*, May 1, 1941.

Death of Richard Herrmann, businessman and historian of Dubuque, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, May 1, 1941.

Early history of Elm Grove Church, by Cal Ogburn, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, May 7, 1941.

How Cylinder, Iowa, got its name, in the *Webster City Freeman-Journal*, May 7, 1941.

Mahaska County board of supervisors has records of Richard J. Scarrem, the "Old Revolutioner", in the *Eddyville Tribune*, May 8, 1941.

Picture and story of first house in Elk River township, Clinton County, in the *Sabula Gazette*, May 8, 1941.

Axel Peterson of Avery builds pyramids, in the *Loville Press*, May 8, 1941.

Mrs. Elizabeth Sabin locates site of old military cemetery of Fort Atkinson, in the *Fayette Leader*, May 8, 1941.

Bill of sale for negro slave girl, dated 1792, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, May 9, 1941.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The 1941 annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and the Ohio History Conference were held jointly on April 4 and 5 at Columbus.

“What are the chief gifts to Louisiana from her French, Spanish and Anglo-American origins?” was the subject of a symposium which featured the monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society on March 25, 1941.

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the American Association of Museums was held at Columbus, Ohio, on May 15 and 16, 1941. Meeting with this Association of Museums was the American Association for State and Local History.

The twenty-second annual Indiana History Conference was held at Indianapolis on December 13-14, 1940. A membership of 1169 was reported. Eli Lilly was elected president, Christopher B. Coleman, secretary, and John G. Rauch, treasurer.

The Round Tower at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, erected in the 1820's, is being made into a museum to house the exhibits which will illustrate life at the Fort. A feature of the museum will be a mural painting by Richard Haines, representing the influence of the Fort on the Northwest.

The president of the American Historical Association for the year 1941 is James Westfall Thompson of the University of California; the first vice president is Arthur M. Schlesinger of Harvard University. The executive secretary is Conyers Read of Philadelphia, and the treasurer is Solon J. Buck of National Archives, Washington, D. C.

The State Historical Society of Missouri held its annual meeting on April 16, 1941, at Columbia. The speakers at the dinner were Senator Allen McReynolds of Carthage, president of the Society,

and Irving Dilliard of the editorial staff of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, whose subject was "They Came from Missouri and They Showed the World".

On February 12, 1941, the Illinois State Historical Library at Springfield dedicated the Henry Horner Lincoln Collection. Among the speakers were Carl Sandburg, Governor Dwight H. Green, and Lieutenant Governor Hugh W. Cross. In the evening the Abraham Lincoln Association held its annual banquet with Charles W. Gilkey as the guest speaker.

The Texas State Historical Association held its forty-fifth annual meeting at Austin on April 18 and 19, 1941. Among the papers on the program were: "The Western Outlaw", by I. E. Stutsman; "The Activities of General James Wilkinson Relative to the State of Texas", by Elizabeth C. Jacobs; and "Dr. Benno Mathes — an Early Texas Naturalist", by S. W. Geiser, a former Iowan. The second annual meeting of the Junior Historians of Texas was held at the same time and place.

IOWA

The Madison County Historical Society honored its octogenarians at a banquet held at Winterset on April 29, 1941. Dinner was served to over 200 guests. The organization has been holding annual meetings since 1904. H. A. Mueller is president of the Society.

The new president of the Ringgold County Historical Society is Homer L. Calkin. Other officers are Arthur S. Palmer, vice president, Vera F. Dickens, secretary, and C. D. Allyn, treasurer. The Society is making plans for its fifth annual "old timers" reunion to be held in July at Mount Ayr.

The Fayette County Centennial Association is becoming active as a county historical society. A committee to promote that end was appointed at a meeting of the Centennial Association held at West Union on April 16, 1941. President of the Association is D. R. Roberts; vice president, Mrs. H. R. Young; secretary, Walter H. Beall; treasurer, F. B. Claxton.

An Iowa Conference on Local History, sponsored by the Iowa State Department of History and Archives, was held at Des Moines on May 9, 1941. The program was arranged in six parts. First came greetings from Ora Williams, Curator of the Department. The first topic was "Organizing the Interest in Local History", with O. W. Stevenson as chairman. Henry K. Peterson, President of the Pottawattamie County Historical Society, spoke on "How We Did It", and Dr. John E. Briggs, Editor of the State Historical Society, gave "Suggestions for New Organizations". The session on "Collection and Care of Historical Museum Materials" was in charge of Mrs. Gertrude Henderson. Jack W. Musgrove, Museum Director of the State Department, discussed "Classifying and Cataloging of Historical Materials". Homer L. Calkin, President of the Ringgold County Historical Society, was chairman of the session on "Iowa as a Field of Historical Study". "Agriculture in an Agricultural State" was the topic discussed by Earle D. Ross of Iowa State College, while Charles J. Ritchey of Drake University talked on "The Riches of History at Home". Royal K. Holbrook presided over the session on "Activities for the Local Society, and Public Relations". The three speakers were Francis I. Moats, of Simpson College, on "Educational Records in Warren County", Dale Maffitt on "Photographs Are Historical", and Kenneth E. Colton, of the State Department, on "Things We Can All Do". Mr. Peterson of Council Bluffs was named chairman of a committee to co-ordinate plans for the formation of additional county historical societies. Other members of this committee are Mrs. Gertrude Henderson of Sioux City, secretary, Walter H. Beall of West Union, Remley J. Glass of Mason City, and W. S. Johnson of Newton.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

The *Chicago Tribune* has recently begun an index of the files of the paper from its beginning in 1847 down to the present. Since the plant was destroyed by the great fire of 1871, it has been necessary to microfilm files preserved in other cities. This search for missing numbers, not yet completely successful, revealed that the

State Historical Society of Iowa had more of the issues missing from the paper's files than any other single library.

Alice Swisher Bradley (Mrs. G. B. Bradley) recently presented to the State Historical Society of Iowa two manuscript volumes of much historical interest. One record book contains the minutes of the meetings of the Iowa Soldiers' Orphans' Home Association from the organization convention held on October 7-9, 1863, to the meeting on June 6, 1866. At this time the Home was taken over by the State of Iowa. The second volume contains a list of contributors to this Soldiers' Orphan's Home Association, arranged by counties.

Dr. William J. Petersen, Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave his "Tall Tales of the Mississippi" to the Des Moines Lions Club on April 3, 1941. On April 7th he gave the same talk to the Rotary and Kiwanis clubs at Mount Pleasant. Dr. Petersen attended the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting at Milwaukee on April 24 and 25. While in Milwaukee Dr. Petersen attended the meeting of the Alvord Memorial Commission, on which he serves as a member. On May 15th Dr. Petersen gave a commencement address on "Heroes and Heroines" before the graduating class of Cotter Consolidated School. He gave a similar talk before the graduating class of the University High School at Iowa City on May 27, 1941.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. John Chapman, Sheldon, Iowa; Mr. George B. Hartman, Ames, Iowa; Dr. H. J. Jones, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. J. Anthony Rhomberg, Dubuque, Iowa; Mrs. Betty Laird Swafford, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa; Mr. David M. White, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Elsie J. Dau, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. C. A. Hickman, Sr., Sioux City, Iowa; Mr. Stanley L. Roberts, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Bertha Alice Williams, Des Moines, Iowa; and Mrs. May Pardee Youtz, Iowa City, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Municipal Gallery of Davenport held its second exhibition of "Art and Artists Along the Mississippi" from April 3 to 30, 1941.

"Corn Parade", a mural painting by Orr C. Fisher of Mount Ayr, is soon to be installed in the post office of that city. It was sponsored by the fine arts section of the Federal Work Projects Administration.

The Iowa Academy of Science held its annual meeting at Simpson College, Indianola, on April 25 and 26, 1941. Dr. Charles R. Keyes gave the Friday evening address on "An Outline of Iowa Archaeology". Dr. Roy A. Nelson was elected president of the Academy for 1942.

Plans for an "Old Settlers' Day" were made at the meeting of the Pocahontas Historical Society on April 1, 1941. Nationality groups at the picnic are to be represented by speeches, stunts, or pageants. The Society is active in collecting accounts relating to Pocahontas County history.

The seventh annual Tulip Time was held at Pella on May 8, 9, and 10, 1941. The display of tulips, residents in Dutch costumes, "De Tulp Toren", where the queen is crowned, the historical museum, old Dutch homes, folk dancing, a miniature Dutch village, and parades were features of the colorful celebration.

Joseph Schafer, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin since 1920, and editor of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, died at Madison, Wisconsin, on January 27, 1941. He was born in Grant County, Wisconsin, on December 29, 1867. From 1900 to 1920 he taught history at the University of Oregon. He was the author of numerous books and articles on Oregon and Wisconsin history.

Dr. Charles R. Keyes, Professor of German at Cornell College since 1903 and State Archeologist since 1920, will retire from his

teaching position at the end of the present school year but will continue as State Archeologist under the sponsorship of the State Historical Society of Iowa and the State University of Iowa.

The Iowa Press Association held its annual convention at Des Moines on March 15 and 16, 1941. Fred W. Hill of the *Hamburg Reporter* was elected president for 1942. S. E. Tennant, publisher of the *Colfax Tribune* was re-elected secretary. Charles N. Marvin of the *Shenandoah Evening Sentinel*, Frank Jaqua of the *Humboldt Republican and Independent*, and E. P. Harrison of the *Oakland Acorn* were enrolled as master editors-publishers. Sketches of their lives are included in *The Iowa Publisher* for April. This number also contains a biographical sketch of David C. Mott.

David Charles Mott, a newspaper editor in several Iowa cities and a member of the staff of the State Historical Department at Des Moines from 1919 to 1937, died at Cherokee, Oklahoma, on March 8, 1941. He was born on March 23, 1858, on a farm in Washington County, Ohio, and came to Iowa with his parents in 1862. He attended several schools maintained by the Friends, taught school for a few years, farmed, and began his newspaper work in 1888 at What Cheer. Later he edited papers at Tipton, Audubon, and Marengo. From 1904 to 1907 he served in the Iowa House of Representatives and from 1911 to 1919 he was a member of the State Board of Parole.

J. Tracy Garrett, influential in newspaper, political, and community affairs in Iowa, died at his home in Burlington on April 14, 1941. He was born at Burlington on March 18, 1881, and began newspaper work on the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* in 1900. After doing newspaper work in Creston, New York, Chicago, and Des Moines, and engaging in business in New Mexico, Mr. Garrett returned to Burlington in 1917 as managing editor of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, later becoming editor and publisher of the paper. Always interested in his home community, Mr. Garrett gave much time to local historical work. From 1925 to 1938 he was president of the Iowa Associated Press. At the time of his death he had just been appointed a member of the Iowa Defense Industries Council.

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JAMES FREDERIC CLARKE, M. D. Born at Fairfield, Iowa, on February 23, 1864. Studied at Parsons College, Fairfield, 1881, 1882. Received B. S. degree from the State University of Iowa, 1886, and the M. A. degree in 1889; and an M. D. degree from the University of Pennsylvania, also in 1889. Studied at Johns Hopkins University and the University of Göttingen, Germany, and was given an honorary Sc. D. from Parsons College in 1933. Practiced medicine at Fairfield since 1889, lecturer on hygiene at the University of Iowa for three years and on fungi and bacteria at Parsons College. Served as surgeon of the 49th Iowa Infantry in the Spanish-

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A SURVEY OF THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF ALBERT BAIRD CUMMINS

For a quarter of a century Albert B. Cummins served the people of Iowa in some political capacity — as Governor from 1902 to 1908 and as United States Senator from 1908 to 1926. During that time he welded together the reform elements of the State, and assumed their leadership, fought and vanquished his party chieftains, went to Washington as a champion of the people, came within reach of the most coveted political prize of all, the presidency of the United States, and finally went down to defeat with the reputation of being a conservative. Any estimate of Cummins must be based in part on an analysis of his political ideas. What were his views? Upon what principles did he wage his fight for reform, and how firmly founded were those principles?

PRELUDE TO POLITICS

Albert B. Cummins was a lawyer before he was a political figure. In 1873 he began his law study in the offices of McClellan and Hodges in Chicago and in 1875 he was admitted to the Illinois bar. For a time he practiced in Chicago, but because, as he said, he wanted to live in a place where he knew the people he met on the street, he moved in 1878 to Des Moines, Iowa.¹

Several influences were at work on him during the time he devoted himself more or less exclusively to the practice of law in Des Moines. He achieved a financial success without which independent action is difficult if not impossible.

¹ James B. Morrow's *Cummins and the Carriers* in *The Nation's Business*, Vol. VII, July, 1919, p. 28.

Through his study of and work with corporations he laid the foundation for one of his biggest political issues — the regulation of monopolies. Finally, he achieved a State-wide reputation as an honest, reliable, and capable champion of the people, a fact which pointed the way toward a political career.

Success came rather quickly to him. Within a short time after his removal to Des Moines he associated himself with one of the well-known law firms of the city, and in a few years came to be the senior member of the firm. Evidence of his leadership at the bar was his election as president of the Polk County Bar Association.² It was not long before he was recognized not only as one of the ablest lawyers of his State but of the whole United States.³

The opportunity to have his name become a household word for honesty, integrity, and capability in the farm homes of Iowa came when he was chosen as attorney to represent the Farmers' Protective Association against the barbed wire trust organized by Washburn and Moen of Massachusetts and J. M. Elwood of Illinois.⁴ B. F. Gue

² Johnson Brigham's *History of Des Moines and Polk County*, Vol. II, pp. 935-937. In 1881 Cummins associated himself with the firm composed of Judge G. G. Wright and his sons, Thomas S. and Carroll Wright. In 1883 Judge Wright withdrew, and in 1886 Thomas S. Wright moved to Chicago. It was then that Cummins and Carroll Wright formed the firm of Cummins and Wright, which in a few years was changed to Cummins, Hewitt, and Wright.

³ In a letter to the writer from Senator George W. Norris, dated May 14, 1937, occurred this sentence: "Senator Cummins was one of the ablest lawyers in the United States." Testimonials to substantially the same effect could be quoted from letters written by such men as Gardner Cowles, Harvey Ing-ham, and others. Letters to the writer referred to in this study will be placed with the Cummins' papers in the State Department of History and Archives at Des Moines.

⁴ Washburn, Moen, and Elwood simply bought up all the available patents on barbed wire, and after closing out all competing factories, raised the price of such wire. The farmers were aroused. C. F. Clarkson, agricultural editor of *Iowa State Register* at Des Moines, called a meeting at which it was decided

said of him, "He was matched against the ablest patent lawyers in the country, and in every conflict proved equal to the occasion, winning a national reputation." At any time during the progress of the suit, Gue said, Cummins could have named his price and realized a fortune.⁵ Certainly one cannot read his argument to the Circuit Court of the United States in this case without realizing that he did a masterly job.⁶ He showed a remarkable grasp of the patent laws relating to barbed wire, and he was familiar with the most minute details of the history and manufacture of that product. The story is told that he donned a pair of overalls, went into the factory, and learned the barbed wire business from the ground up, thus showing his capacity for hard work and thorough study.⁷

But despite his success as an attorney, the rather dry triumphs of the bar did not satisfy the restless nature of Cummins. Professional success and the achievement of material comfort were not enough. With his abilities and with his reputation over the State, it was natural that he should turn to the wider arena of politics.

MORE DEMOCRACY

An analysis of Albert B. Cummins' ideas on government shows that the essential feature of his political philosophy

to establish a factory in Des Moines which would sell wire direct to the farmers. In the legal battle which ensued, Cummins won his spurs. — See Earl W. Hayter's *An Iowa Farmers' Protective Association* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 331-362.

⁵ B. F. Gue's *Organized Resistance to a Monopoly* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, pp. 411, 412.

⁶ Copy of the argument of Albert B. Cummins to the Circuit Court of the United States in the case of Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Co., *et al.* vs. Grinnell Wire Co., *et al.*, in the State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines.

⁷ This incident was related to Ora Williams by William L. Carpenter, manager of the independent barbed wire factory and later mayor of Des Moines. — Williams' Manuscript, submitted to the writer in March, 1937.

was democracy. There are several reasons why Cummins put his faith in the common man.

His background was democratic. The branch of the Cummins (written also Cummings at different times) family from which came Albert Baird, was of Scotch-Irish descent, an early ancestor coming from North Ireland and settling in Virginia. Four members of this family fought in the American Revolution. The family soon settled in western Pennsylvania, where Albert's father, Thomas Layton Cummins, was born near Carmichaels. He became farmer, carpenter, contractor, Republican, and Presbyterian. The mother, Sarah Baird Flenniken, was a granddaughter of Judge John Flenniken who at Charlotte, North Carolina, on May 19, 1775, proudly signed his name to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. Later he served as a member of the State legislature and as judge of the court of common pleas of Greene County.⁸

The same democratic tradition found in the family background is revealed in the early life of Albert Baird Cummins. There is a sense of real democracy, for example, in the simple frame story-and-a-half house, near Carmichaels, Pennsylvania, with a white picket fence in front where he was born on February 15, 1850, the oldest son in a family of eleven children.⁹ There is democracy in the story of his early education and training. At the age of twelve, so it is said, he was almost a full hand at carpenter

⁸ John W. Jordan and James Hadden's *Genealogical and Personal History of Fayette and Greene Counties, Pennsylvania*, Vol. III, pp. 872-875.

⁹ For a picture of his birthplace see *Newspaper Clippings*, Vol. X, p. 55. There are ten volumes of newspaper clippings compiled by Miss Anna Cummins, sister of Senator Cummins, who also acted as his secretary. Some are unpagged. Sources from which various intimate details of his early life have been taken are James B. Morrow's *Cummins and the Carriers in The Nation's Business*, Vol. VII, July, 1919, p. 28; interview of James B. Morrow with A. B. Cummins on January 7, 1909, in *The Sioux City Journal*, January 10, 1909; and *The Insurgent Senator Cummins in Current Literature*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 268-271.

work. He learned this trade at the same time he attended district school where he sat on a bench "with no back to it". For three years he attended Waynesburg College at Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, working his way as carpenter, farm hand, and school teacher. But he "detested school teaching", and farming and carpentry must not have provided sufficient outlet for his energies, for at the age of nineteen he borrowed fifty dollars from his uncle — minus two dollars and seventy-five cents subtracted as interest — and started west to make his fortune.

Then followed jobs as carpenter, express office clerk, assistant surveyor of Allen County, Indiana, and finally division engineer in construction of the Cincinnati, Richmond, and Fort Wayne Railroad. In accepting this last position he said he felt he was "the greatest pretender on earth", for he had never before seen an engineer's level or transit. Such activity was audacious, but he must have succeeded as an engineer, for he went on from one job to another. In fact, it was while he was serving in such a capacity in Michigan that he met Miss Ida Gallery, daughter of one of the directors of the railroad. She became Mrs. Cummins very shortly and was with him when he began the study of law in an office at a salary of fifteen dollars a week and when he came to Iowa.

Circumstances in his political life, too, made Cummins democratic. During most of his career he was forced to fight the machine leaders of his party, a fact which made it necessary for him to go directly to the people.

The senatorial election of 1894 was significant, not because it brought defeat to Cummins, but because it let him catch a glimpse of the goal. He tried for it in the regular way, but despite the political fencing which occurred in the Republican caucus, John Henry Gear, who had the inside track because his son-in-law, J. W. Blythe, was his cam-

paign manager, was chosen with Cummins running well down the list.¹⁰

From this time on, Cummins began to lay his plans carefully, for Gear was an old man, and it was assumed that he would not succeed himself. The campaign of 1896 gave Cummins an opportunity to advance, for he was chosen member from Iowa on the Republican National Committee. For three months he gave "unremittingly" of his time, directing from the Chicago office the campaign for reaching the farmer vote in the midwest, without much regard for the personal expense involved.¹¹

From a political point of view the campaign of 1896 was worth all it cost Cummins. It gave him a chance to meet and associate with such men as Charles G. Dawes, Henry C. Payne, Theodore Roosevelt, and Marcus A. Hanna, men with whom he kept up a correspondence for many years afterward. It also gave him a considerable part in the distribution of political patronage. But more important, it fired his political imagination. He saw dangled before his

¹⁰ Cummins presented himself in the regular fashion along with such men as John H. Gear, George D. Perkins, J. F. Lacey, W. P. Hepburn, and L. S. Coffin. Accounts are found in *The Iowa State Register* (Weekly, Des Moines), January 12, 19, 1894. The defeated candidates came before the caucus to make speeches. Of Cummins' speech the *Des Moines Weekly Leader*, January 18, 1894, said, "In beauty of language and eloquence his address surpassed any of those which preceded or followed."

¹¹ *Iowa Official Register*, 1897, p. 105. See such letters as *Personal Letters: Political*, p. 8; *Personal Letters: Campaign of 1896*, pp. 69, 70, 287. *Personal Letters: Political*, is a bound volume of carbon copies of letters written by Cummins between November 16, 1896, and March 3, 1899. Reference to *Personal Letters: Campaign of 1896* is to one volume of carbon letters written by Cummins chiefly from the National Headquarters of the Republican National Committee at Chicago, dated from August 18, 1896, to October 14, 1896.

Cummins' enthusiasm for the 1896 cause may be shown from the deficit of over two thousand dollars he personally incurred. To Charles G. Dawes he wrote that there would never be a "murmur" from him if the National Committee were without funds.—*Personal Letters: Political*, p. 42. See also the letter to H. G. McMillan, dated January 2, 1897, p. 102, in which Cummins stated that Marcus A. Hanna had authorized him to draw \$2,305 to take care of this deficit.

eyes a cabinet position, the office of Governor, and the position of Congressman.¹² He might or might not have had any of these positions, but at least the power of such suggestion was strong. He was not interested in any of these positions because there had generated in him by this time a frank and powerful ambition to be nothing less than a United States Senator.¹³

His defeat in the senatorial election of 1900 was a bitter disappointment to Cummins for he had worked hard, conducting a campaign that has been called the "wonder and admiration of politicians".¹⁴ To be set aside a second time by the processes of machine politics not only influenced his thinking but brought out to the full his fighting qualities. In 1898, he could write concerning his coming fight, "I shall

¹² His correspondence from 1896 on shows his difficulties with patronage. To Charles G. Dawes he wrote, "I have been simply overwhelmed and am only able to emerge from the pile of applications at rare intervals."—*Personal Letters: Political*, December 3, 1896, p. 42.

In 1896 he wrote, "I had the opportunity to make a fight for a cabinet position, and deliberately surrendered it."—Letter to W. T. Durbin, dated March 19, 1897, in *Personal Letters: Political*, p. 182. To the suggestion that he become a candidate for Governor, he wrote that this would "tear up the politics of the State worse than it is now torn up."—Letter to W. F. Cole, dated July 6, 1897, in *Personal Letters: Political*, p. 272. As for the suggestion that he become a candidate for Congress, he wrote, "I have considered the subject very carefully, and have reached the conclusion that I will not be a candidate."—Letter to S. M. Leach, dated October 18, 1897, in *Personal Letters: Political*, p. 348.

¹³ A few quotations from his letters will show this goal. To M. A. Hanna, regarding a question of patronage, he wrote, "You know that I expect to succeed Senator Gear in the Senate, and I shall have from this time on, a rattling hard fight".—Letter dated April 15, 1897, in *Personal Letters: Political*, pp. 213–215. To Henry C. Payne of Milwaukee he wrote: "There is one thing that I especially want to know a little bit sooner than anyone else in this state; namely, whether Allison is to be invited into the cabinet."—Letter dated November 27, 1896, in *Personal Letters: Political*, p. 38. To Charles G. Dawes he wrote, "I have started out with my eye on another seat, and intend, if I can, to keep it there until I have accomplished my purpose."—Letter dated December 3, 1896, in *Personal Letters: Political*, p. 46.

¹⁴ Benjamin F. Shambaugh's *Biographies and Portraits of the Progressive Men of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 91.

not be disappointed if I do not succeed, for indeed, I come nearer reaching the resolution every week to absolutely and forever abandon politics'', but after 1900 there is never a word indicating that he would like to leave the fray.¹⁵

All might still have been peace had Cummins received the appointment as United States Senator from Governor Leslie M. Shaw upon the death of Senator Gear on July 14, 1900. It may never be known exactly what prompted Governor Shaw to appoint Jonathan P. Dolliver to this place rather than Cummins.¹⁶ Shaw may later have regretted this decision more than once, for it was Cummins, more than any other man, who blasted the presidential hopes of the eminent Secretary of the Treasury.

Cummins now realized that for him the only road to a United States senatorship was by way of "the governor's chair''. He asked no favors from the leaders of his party. He defied them.¹⁷ Governor Shaw had no more than taken

¹⁵ Letter to W. T. Durbin, dated March 8, 1898, in *Personal Letters: Political*, p. 463.

The whole truth about this 1900 election may, perhaps, never be generally known. It was virtually agreed that the election of Senator hinged on the election of the Speaker of the House, due to the advantage in patronage which would accrue. D. H. Bowen was the Gear candidate, and W. L. Eaton was the Cummins candidate. Bowen won in the Republican House caucus by a vote of 43 to 38, 41 votes being necessary for the election.

¹⁶ As late as 1930 Addison Parker wrote that no one who spoke with authority had ever explained it.—*The Des Moines Sunday Register*, September 21, 1930, p. 4. Cyrenus Cole in 1936 told how Shaw had come to Cedar Rapids to talk to him about the matter. Shaw told Cole that a proposition had been submitted to him by Cummins' managers pledging support to Shaw for the next Senate seat if he would appoint Cummins at this time. According to Cole, this offer made Shaw decide on Dolliver.—Cyrenus Cole's *I Remember, I Remember*, p. 287.

¹⁷ Addison Parker told of the speech made by Cummins in February, 1901, to a convention of Republicans of Polk County. His first words were said to have been: "Mr. Hubbard says that by the appointment of Dolliver the republicans of Iowa have buried the hatchet. But where have they buried it? In me, gentlemen, in me."—*The Des Moines Sunday Register*, September 21, 1930, p. 4.

time out from his oil gusher at Beaumont, Texas, to announce that he was not interested in a third term as Governor of Iowa, when Cummins formally announced his candidacy.¹⁸ In what has been called "Iowa's stormiest political battle" during which he is said to have spoken in every county in the State, Cummins gained first the Republican nomination for Governor and then the election.¹⁹

Cummins thus came into a major political office in a way not of his own choosing; the office of Governor was not the one he wanted. He took it as the stepping stone to the more desired office of United States Senator. The democratic leanings of Cummins which were his by birth and early training were during these years of political frustration brought out to the full. The events of these years made him more of a reformer than he might otherwise have been. They exerted a strong influence in molding the ideas which were later to make him famous.

During the time he was Governor, Cummins was forced to rely on popular support. His reform program took shape only after the fiercest opposition by the conservative party leaders. The strength of his opposition should be noted. During the early years of his career he was opposed by most of the Iowa delegation in Washington which included two cabinet members, James Wilson and Leslie M. Shaw, two outstanding Senators, William Boyd Allison and Jonathan P. Dolliver, a Speaker of the House, David B. Hen-

¹⁸ Cyrenus Cole stated that Cummins did not wait for Shaw's announcement (*I Remember, I Remember*, p. 288). But the Shaw letter of withdrawal was dated February 4th, while Cummins' formal announcement, which followed a conference of his friends in Des Moines, came on February 9, 1901. — See *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 8, 15, 1901.

¹⁹ Addison Parker's *Iowa's Stormiest Political Battle — Cummins Whips the Old Machine* in *The Des Moines Sunday Register*, September 21, 1930; *Iowa Official Register*, 1902, pp. 273, 365. The vote was 226,848 for Cummins and 143,768 for his nearest opponent. For details of the contest including the attempt to bring out Edward H. Conger as an opposition candidate, see the *Des Moines Leader* (Weekly), February 14, 1901.

derson, and various Congressmen, among whom were J. A. T. Hull, Robert G. Cousins, and John F. Lacey. Yet in spite of this opposition he took the political lead in Iowa.²⁰

If the period of political frustration up to 1901 placed Cummins at the head of the reform movement in Iowa, this continued opposition helped him carry through his reform program. A sketch of the political events from 1901 to 1908 helps show the atmosphere in which evolved such reforms as the direct primary, the popular election of Senators, the prohibition of free railroad passes, the abolition of corporate campaign contributions, and the requirement for publicity of campaign expenditures.

When Cummins gained the nomination for Governor in 1901, the "standpatters" took it with fairly good grace.²¹ There was even evidence of harmony in 1903.²² By 1904,

²⁰ For discussions by political commentators of the time see Rollin Lynde Hartt's *The Political Lead in Iowa* in *The World's Work*, Vol. III, pp. 1989-1991; *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. XLVI, p. 1922; Edward Lissner's *Iowa's Political War and its Bearing upon the Destiny of the Republican Party* in *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. L, pp. 549, ff.

²¹ Governor Shaw assisted in welcoming Cummins home to Des Moines from Cedar Rapids and pledged support. — *The Iowa State Register* (Weekly, Des Moines), August 16, 1901.

²² Cummins was led to compromise slightly in the drafting of the State platform in 1903. H. C. Poyser, Postmaster General, wrote him that the great battlefield in 1904 would be the eastern States and because these States were willing to vote the stiffest kind of tariff plank, the midwest should take this fact into consideration in drafting any platforms.—Letter dated March 7, 1903. Before the meeting Cummins had much correspondence with William B. Allison, George D. Perkins, and others. It was clear that Cummins wanted harmony and was willing to compromise for it. So he agreed to the platform presented by J. W. Blythe, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.—*The Des Moines Daily Capital*, July 2, 1903. Later many of the opposition papers made out that he had surrendered. Cummins wrote later: "I was made the victim of their misrepresentation last summer, and I never again will willingly put myself in an attitude so that they can in the least degree take advantage of me, as they did then."—Letter to George D. Perkins, dated January 30, 1904, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. IX, pp. 64-67. And again he wrote to P. J. Smalley, "I shall never again have anything to do with the crowd by way of pre-arrangement."—Letter dated March 14, 1904, in

however, it was clear that it was to be a fight to the finish, but it was not clear that Cummins would be the winner. In fact, in 1904 he was on the losing side. He did not display his usual vigor at this time, and one explanation for it was that he was not in the best of health.²³

The year 1905 was relatively peaceful, chiefly because the biennial election amendment had passed, extending for one year the terms of all State officers, including that of Governor Cummins. But 1906 ushered in a campaign which for bitterness and activity has had few parallels in the history of Iowa or any other State. Early in 1905 the opposition considered George D. Perkins as the Republican candidate for Governor.²⁴ It is difficult to tell whether Cummins really wanted a third term as Governor; in many letters he denied that he did. On the other hand, in August, 1905, he wrote that he expected to lead the fight in one way or another, if not as Governor, then as a candidate for Congress.²⁵ But he entered the third term fight because he realized that his faction must win, and that probably no one else could win except himself. In February, 1906, in an

Personal Letters, Vol. IX, p. 287. There are twenty-six volumes of carbon letters dated from January 17, 1902, to November 23, 1908, in the set designated *Personal Letters*.

²³ Cummins claimed that he had an agreement with Congressman Hull that he would remain neutral in the election if Hull would permit him to name the county delegates to the State convention. Hull denied any such agreement was made, and in the Polk County convention of March 5, 1904, Hull named the delegates. Cummins was in the minority in the State convention. He wrote many letters asking advice on accepting the position of delegate-at-large which was given him because of his position. He finally accepted.—See *The Des Moines Daily Capital*, March 7, May 18, 1904.

In the spring of 1904 Cummins was in bed for three weeks and then had to leave Des Moines for two more weeks of rest.

²⁴ *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), on May 6, 1905, called attention to a meeting of the State politicians as early as May, 1905, in which it was surmised the candidacy of Perkins was considered.

²⁵ Letter to A. W. Maxwell, dated August 8, 1905, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XIII, p. 189.

open letter to the Republicans of Iowa, he announced his candidacy.²⁶

Having made this announcement, Cummins strained every nerve to win. In the pre-convention campaign he made some two hundred speeches to thirty by Perkins.²⁷ He asked Senator R. M. La Follette to come into the State to speak for him, an invitation which La Follette accepted.²⁸ He asked William Larrabee to make at least one campaign speech for him, in order that it might be printed and circulated, and Larrabee responded.²⁹ He welcomed the formation of "Cummins Clubs". His correspondence was voluminous, and in all his letters he showed a supreme confidence in himself. He made every attempt to enlist the aid of the indifferent and to arouse enthusiasm in those who were becoming faint-hearted. If he felt discouraged at times, he never showed it. One gets the impression that this was a personal campaign, and that Cummins was the person.³⁰

He won the election by the narrowest margin of any since

²⁶ *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), February 20, 1906. In a letter to W. E. Hamilton he wrote: "The whole country would look upon Mr. Perkins' nomination as a complete victory for the Blythe followers, and the organization that we have built up . . . would disintegrate the very moment that witnessed his nomination."—Letter dated November 25, 1905, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XIV, pp. 180, 181. His letters at this time indicate that he felt no one else could lead the fight.

²⁷ Letter to E. N. Foss, dated June 30, 1906, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XVI, p. 206; Fred E. Haynes' *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War*, p. 462.

²⁸ *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), July 26, 1906.

²⁹ Letter to William Larrabee, dated August 20, 1906, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XVII, p. 147. A copy of Larrabee's speech is in the State Department of History and Archives at Des Moines.

³⁰ The opposition made an attempt to contest some of the delegations to the State convention, but after a struggle, Cummins emerged the victor in the dispute. The best accounts of the affair are found in a letter to the chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, George D. Perkins, and to Republicans of Iowa, dated July 28, 1906, found among Cummins' papers and in various issues of *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), especially July 15, 1906, and following, and in A. B. Funk's *Fred L. Maytag*, pp. 102-104.

he had run for public office. Many conservatives deserted to vote for the Democratic candidate, Claude R. Porter, but there were without doubt many Democrats who in turn voted for Cummins.³¹ After the smoke of battle had cleared away, Cummins wrote, "I have had a hard fight — the hardest any man ever had, I think. I shall never make another such a one".³²

The 1906 campaign prepared the way for the conflict with Senator Allison for the latter's seat in the Senate. Before the contest occurred, the Iowa primary election law was passed. The primary election of June, 1907, together with the subsequent events which finally led to Cummins' election to the Senate, help give the background for his ideas on popular government.

Cummins announced his candidacy for Allison's place in the Senate in December, 1907.³³ It is doubtful if he really wished to oppose Allison, although he certainly laid his plans with this in mind.³⁴ He reasoned in this fashion. Senator Allison was an old man and it was almost a foregone conclusion that he could not finish his term if elected. Cummins believed that his political opponents planned to re-elect Allison, and then if he were removed, either by

³¹ Cummins received 216,995 votes to 196,123 for Porter. — *Iowa Official Register*, 1907-1908, p. 527. The attitude of many of the conservatives is given in John Ely Briggs' *William Peters Hepburn*, p. 294. Ora Williams told how Cummins prepared a tariff speech which was especially designed to catch the Democratic vote and delivered it many times in the southern part of the State. Williams estimated that Cummins received over twenty thousand Democratic votes in this election. — Interview by the writer with Mr. Williams, Des Moines, on March 27, 1937.

³² Letter to L. A. Palmer, dated November 28, 1906, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XVIII, p. 94.

³³ *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), December 16, 1907.

³⁴ In May, 1907, Cummins wrote: "I expect to be a candidate for United States Senator, and now that we have a primary law in Iowa . . . it seems to my friends that I will be chosen." — Letter to E. E. Lewis, Boston, dated May 2, 1907, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XIX, pp. 415-417.

resignation or by natural causes, take the chance of appointing some one besides Cummins to his place. If Cummins had retired to private life, he would be in no position to make the fight.³⁵

One gets the impression, from reading his correspondence during this period, that Cummins did not enter the fight against Allison with his old time vigor and enthusiasm. In 1906 he was fighting for his political life and there was the joy of battle in what he was doing, but in 1908 he was opposing an old man who was about ready to die, and this fact in itself made it a contest not entirely to his liking. Then the Torbert letter, which was interpreted by some as a promise not to oppose Senator Allison, may have plagued him as it did many of his close friends.³⁶

Allison won in the primaries,³⁷ but he died before the general election in November. This turn of events threw the whole contest open again. Three courses were open to

³⁵ See letters to Senator Dolliver and others in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XX, pp. 165, 357-362, 457, 485-487, Vol. XXI, p. 132.

³⁶ Following Cummins' announcement, Senator Dolliver stated that Cummins had agreed, in return for support in 1906, not to contest Allison's seat in 1908. Cummins immediately offered a thousand dollars if this could be proved. Thereupon Dolliver produced the letter that Cummins had written to W. H. Torbert, of Dubuque. Much furor was created by this whole issue at the time, but all the written testimony is fairly open to the double interpretation which was placed upon it. What Cummins promised orally will probably never be known for certain. In defense of Cummins it should be noted that he did not receive the whole-hearted support of the conservative faction in 1906 which he might have expected had the above agreement really been made. For accounts of this incident see the letter to W. H. Torbert, dated April 19, 1906, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XV, p. 676; *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), December 16, 1907; Cole's *I Remember, I Remember*, p. 320. In letter after letter to his friends (for example, to Richard Brown and D. W. Norris in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64, 108), Cummins maintained he wrote this letter to Torbert as to a friend and not as to a representative of Senator Allison. There are perhaps a dozen or more letters to Torbert in Cummins' files, showing the two men had been on friendly political terms in the past.

³⁷ Allison's vote in the June primary was 105,891 to 95,256 for Cummins. — *Iowa Official Register*, 1909-1910, p. 600.

Governor Cummins. He could make a temporary appointment and take his chances with the legislature when it met in 1909; he could resign as Governor with the understanding that he would be appointed to the Senate, or he could call the legislature into special session to amend the primary law to permit a popular expression of opinion at the election in November. He decided to call the legislature into special session. It convened on August 31, 1908, listened to a speech by Cummins, deadlocked on the question of electing a Senator to fill Allison's unexpired term, passed the primary election amendment, adjourned temporarily on September 10th, reconvened again on November 24th after the election, and, since Cummins had won in the special primary, proceeded to elect him to fill out the unexpired term. One ambition, at least, for Cummins was fulfilled.³⁸

When Cummins entered the Senate in 1908 his activities, especially those relating to the Republican tariff, soon brought him into sharp conflict with the conservative Republican leaders in Washington. These leaders would have read him out of the party had they been able to do so. Speaker Joseph G. Cannon came into Iowa to speak against him, and Senator Nelson W. Aldrich and even President William H. Taft maneuvered against him.³⁹ As a result he

³⁸ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1908, Extra Session. The vote in the November primary was 138,840 for Cummins and 96,193 for John F. Lacey.—*Iowa Official Register*, 1909-1910, p. 600. The opposition to Cummins had suggested that they forget the senatorship, combine to elect a Republican legislature, and then abide by its decision. Cummins was afraid of this solution. He felt that his opponents could beat him in this way "in the manner we have seen practiced so successfully in the past." That is, various candidates would come in for a few votes, until the majority that he started with would be lost.—See, for example, letter to G. M. Curtis, dated August 20, 1908, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 381, 382.

³⁹ A report of Cannon's speech is given in *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), October 6, 1909. Cummins' answer to him is given in large part in the *Sioux City Journal*, October 9, 1909. Archie Butt told of a drive which Taft took with Aldrich. Taft broached a plan he had in mind to defeat Cummins and Dolliver in the next election. He had talked to Hepburn and other

was forced to defend his progressivism and he did so vigorously. If the Republican party should take counsel from those who advocated "Stand pat" or "Let well enough alone", he said that he would "doubt the perpetuity of free institutions, and question the capacity of man for self-government."⁴⁰

Believing that the best defense is a good offense, he attacked the rules of the House of Representatives which conferred so much power on Speaker Cannon.⁴¹ He campaigned for such progressives as S. F. Prouty, H. W. Byers, J. H. Darrah, and S. W. Brookhart to replace Congressmen J. A. T. Hull, W. I. Smith, H. M. Towner, and C. A. Kennedy, and he mentioned names.⁴² In a chautauqua address in Kansas he is quoted as saying: "I am a recruiting officer for the army that will destroy the political leadership of Speaker Cannon and Senator Aldrich."⁴³

Because of his experience during these earlier years in the Senate, it is fair to say, he was again pushed further along the path of reform than he otherwise would have gone. Had the conservative leaders accepted him as a Republican, and had he not been obliged to defend himself so vigorously, he might have compromised his views on the tariff, as later he compromised his views on the railroad bill

"stalwarts", and they had agreed that if some outside money could be obtained it might be done. Aldrich said he would try to raise some money from certain friends of his to conduct in Iowa what he called a "campaign of education." — Letter dated March 7, 1910, in *Taft and Roosevelt, The Intimate Letters of Archie Butt*, Vol. I, pp. 299-301. For report of Cannon's Knife and Fork Club speech in Kansas City see *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), November 27, 1909.

⁴⁰ Marquette Club address, Chicago, November 6, 1909, reported in *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), November 7, 1909.

⁴¹ Speech at Knoxville, Iowa, in reply to J. G. Cannon, reported in *The Sioux City Journal*, October 9, 1909.

⁴² *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), May 11, June 4, 1910.

⁴³ *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), July 24, 1910.

of 1920. In fact, as temporary chairman of the Iowa Republican State Convention in 1910, he said of the tariff fight: "If there had been an honest attempt to fix duties according to the cost of production I might have yielded my view on the question of fact; but there was no such attempt".⁴⁴ Cannon and Aldrich had drawn the line sharply! Cummins had either to fight or capitulate entirely. He chose to fight.

THE MAN AND THE PARTY

Even though Cummins was in opposition to many of the leaders of his party during most of his political career, he always worked within the ranks of the Republican party. Some of his political enemies at times tried to cast doubt on his party loyalty, but the evidence of any real lack of loyalty is lacking.

There are many instances, some of which have already been noted, in which Cummins was willing to take an independent course in thinking and conduct. Of special note in this connection was his election in 1888 to a seat in the lower house of the State legislature. He was prevailed upon to run as an Independent Republican in protest against the prohibition policy of the party. His election aroused the regular members of the party, especially the Prohibition Republicans. They attempted to bar him from the House caucus and the oratory which followed contained such words as "mugwump" and "traitor", but after Cummins' "dignified response" a compromise resolution was adopted which left him free to remain.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), August 4, 1910.

⁴⁵ *Iowa City Republican*, January 1, 1888. The story of how Cummins was nominated by the anti-prohibition Republicans of Polk County is told in a clipping from the *Fort Dodge Times* in *Newspaper Clippings*, Vol. I. One of the most comprehensive accounts of the prohibition situation at the time is found in Will Porter's *Annals of Polk County, Iowa, and City of Des Moines*, pp. 401-421.

For many years afterward, his political opponents claimed that in this campaign he spoke for the Democratic candidate, Horace Boies, and against the Republican candidate, William Larrabee, but the writer found no evidence to support this claim. If Cummins did support Boies, Larrabee afterward forgave him, for he campaigned for him in 1906 and wrote the letter which Cummins used so effectively against George D. Perkins, when Perkins emphasized Cummins' record in 1888, during the famous Cummins-Perkins debate held at Spirit Lake that year.⁴⁶

Irving B. Richman probably summed up the situation as well as any one when in 1931 he harked back to the old days. "At this period, too," he said, "Albert B. Cummins of Des Moines had political aspirations, and it was a common remark that, if the Republicans of Iowa did not soon awaken to this interesting fact, Cummins, infected as he already was by anti-Republican virus, might have to be reckoned with as a Democrat."⁴⁷

If Cummins in his early years ever had tendencies toward party defection, certainly as time went on his position became clear. To the legislature, upon election to the Senate for the first time, he stated his philosophy. "I am a party man", he said, and he left no doubt of his intention always to work within the ranks of his chosen party.⁴⁸

Had he chosen to leave the party, he had a splendid opportunity to do so in 1912, when the Theodore Roosevelt forces split away from the Taft forces, and the Bull Moose party was formed. Cummins supported Roosevelt per-

⁴⁶ See William Larrabee's speech at Fayette, on October 15, 1906, in *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), October 16, 1906.

⁴⁷ "Pioneer Iowa Lawmakers Who Were Democrats", given at the twenty-second biennial session of the Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa, on February 26, 1931. See *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1931, p. 753.

⁴⁸ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1908, Extra Session, p. 126.

sonally, but he refused to join the new party. His action evidently was a disappointment to many of his old progressive friends.⁴⁹

Cummins did believe in party reform and reorganization, however, and worked for such measures. One of the specific reforms for which he argued was a change in the basis of representation in the National Republican Convention. He wanted representation to be more in harmony with the actual party strength in each State, and he advocated calling a national convention of Republicans before the 1916 election to remedy the situation.⁵⁰

THE FIELD OF GOVERNMENT

One reason — and perhaps the most important one of all — why Cummins entered politics was his faith in government as a social agency. He was not a believer in the theory that “that government is best which governs least”; rather, he stressed the desirability and the necessity of governmental activity. When he was only thirty-seven years of age he stated in an address:

Governments are created first, to provide for the public welfare; second, to prescribe and punish public crimes; and third, to prescribe and enforce private rights.⁵¹

In 1899 he said to the graduating class of the Highland Park College of Law at Des Moines:

To me history presents this spectacle: enthusiastic socialists leading the way, logical but impractical, bombarding the very

⁴⁹ *The Cedar Rapids Daily Republican*, September 4, 1912; Claude G. Bowers' *Beveridge and the Progressive Era*, pp. 446-448.

⁵⁰ Address before the Grant Club, Des Moines, reported in *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), March 15, 1913; discussion by Cummins in *The Register and Leader*, August 25, 1910. The Republican State platform, adopted on August 3, advocated reform of the party.—*The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), August 4, 1910.

⁵¹ October 17, 1887, at Des Moines. — See *Newspaper Clippings*, Vol. I, p. 4.

heavens with their appeals against the inequalities so hard to understand; individualists lagging in the rear, absorbed in carping criticism, full of doleful prophecies and paralyzed with inert conservatism; between the two, the great body of humanity is cutting and trying, knowing that here empiricism is the true science, now advancing, now receding, but upon the whole, enlarging the field of government, and narrowing that of the individual.⁵²

In 1901, as Governor-elect of Iowa, he declared:

But the time has come when, if we are to do justice among the people of the United States, some subjects which are now constitutionally local must become constitutionally national. It is futile to inquire what legislation, if any, should be adopted to prevent or adjust the devastating controversies between the employer and employed, between capital and labor, until there is a power as broad and as comprehensive as the problem itself to prescribe a solution. It is hardly worth while to enlist the best thought of the country upon restrictions and regulations of trade combinations and industrial monopolies so long as forty-five states in hopeless confusion hold the only power that can be exercised.⁵³

But Cummins was not a socialist. Expansion of government, to him, did not involve ownership of private business, although in 1913, when he was asked if he favored the municipal ownership of the waterworks in Des Moines, he said he did. Asked further if he favored government ownership of the railroads, he said, "It is hard to determine just where public ownership should begin and private ownership should cease." He added that the only way was to go on and determine by experience in what fields government ownership was necessary.⁵⁴ Back in 1909 he argued for competition as an alternative to state socialism, saying:

⁵² May 3, 1899, in *Progress*, Vol. I, a copy of which may be found in *Newspaper Clippings*, Vol. I.

⁵³ Address to the New York Chamber of Commerce, reported in *The Des Moines Daily Leader*, November 20, 1901.

⁵⁴ Interview published in *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), December 23, 1913.

In my judgment, when competition goes, our form of government will go with it. The protection which rivalry gives to the people is the one barrier which socialism cannot cross. The moment it is taken away, we will sweep as inevitably into government ownership of all the producing industries, as we breathe to sustain life.⁵⁵

In 1919 he came very close to adopting government ownership as a policy for the railroads. In fact, speaking before the Iowa legislature on March 27, 1919, Senator Cummins argued for a government guarantee of a reasonable return, but this plan involved private operation and preserved the principles of competition.⁵⁶ But when he helped draft the United States Senate bill later in the year he yielded whatever views he might have held on outright ownership for compulsory consolidation and rate-making.

Much of the expansion of government, he thought, should occur within the national framework. As early as 1886 he argued for committing to Congress by way of constitutional amendment such questions as the law of negotiable instruments, the law of descent, and the law of marriage and divorce. "The fear of centralization", he said then, "is one, drawn not from a logical survey of man as he is, but from the dim traditions of a century just emerged from the long and universal reign of despotism."⁵⁷

In 1910 he said that he looked upon the Constitution as "a command to look after the welfare of the people, rather than a mere injunction against invading the rights of the states".⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Marquette Club address, reported in *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), November 7, 1909.

⁵⁶ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1919, pp. 1355-1365.

⁵⁷ Oration delivered before the law class at the State University of Iowa, on June 22, 1886.—From a pamphlet among Cummins' papers.

⁵⁸ Speech as temporary chairman before the Republican State Convention, August 3, 1910, reported in *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), August 4, 1910.

Thus it is natural to find him advocating amendments to the Federal Constitution permitting direct election of Senators, direct election of President and Vice President, and more power to Congress in regulating interstate commerce. It is natural to find him arguing for the nationalization of the problems of capital and labor and Federal incorporation of railroads and suggesting that there were many other problems in need of national treatment. In speaking to the members of the New York Chamber of Commerce in 1901, he said:

My conclusion is that good government must contribute its part toward the maintenance of the high standard of manhood which has hitherto been at once our pride and protection, and that good government in its highest form is unattainable until we nationalize some of the mighty problems which are now vexing the public mind.⁵⁹

Regardless of the unit which was to exercise the functions of government, however, Cummins insisted that it should find its source in the people. Speaking to the Interstate Senatorial Amendment Convention in 1906, he said:

I am not afraid of the people. There is nothing in the history of America that can lead any thoughtful and studious man to fear the verdict of the people. So far as I am concerned (and I have said this very often), I would rather trust in these affairs the untutored instinct of an honest common people than the trained and skillful work of organizers and manipulators of caucuses and conventions.⁶⁰

He added that he would like to see "all authority spring

⁵⁹ *The Des Moines Daily Leader*, November 20, 1901; inaugural address in the *Journal of the Senate*, 1907, pp. 55, 56; *The Amendment of the Constitution in Proceedings of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Constitution of Iowa*, pp. 145-152; and *A Western Republican's Views on the Issues of 1908*, a reprint from *Appleton's Magazine*, in *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), October 22, 1907.

⁶⁰ *Proceedings of the Interstate Senatorial Amendment Convention*, 1906, p. 92.

directly from" the rank and file. In a chautauqua address, entitled "The Reign of the Common People", he described the common people. Their position was not based on wealth, birth, or station in life. "They are the men and women who have no other interest in the government of their country save that which is shared by all their fellows. They are the men and women to whom the laws of the land can grant no peculiar advantage."⁶¹

Holding this philosophy of the common man, Cummins embarked as Governor and as Senator on a program of popular government. One of the most notable reforms for which he worked was the Iowa primary election law. As early as 1903 he advocated the passage of such a law, and he urged its adoption in his biennial messages in 1904, 1906, and again in 1907. He even assisted in drafting such legislation. He was accused by his opponents of using the primary to further his own ambitions, but if he did, it must be admitted that, at least, it was effective political strategy.⁶²

⁶¹ Manuscript copy among Cummins' papers in the State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines.

⁶² Letter to R. A. Hasselquist, dated August 22, 1903, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. VI, p. 463. See also *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1904, pp. 35, 36, 1906, p. 22, and *Journal of the Senate*, 1907, pp. 28, 29. In a letter to Jas. J. Crossley, dated November 21, 1905, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XIV, p. 168, Cummins stated that he had about completed his draft of the primary election law. Crossley was the man who introduced such a measure at each session of the General Assembly until it was passed in 1907.—See *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Ch. 51, pp. 51-64, and Frank E. Horack's *The Operation of the Primary Election Law in Iowa* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XIX, pp. 94-124.

In 1906 Cummins wrote, "If we get a primary, I believe I can win no matter how apathetic the newspapers you mention are, nor how active my enemies may be."—Letter to W. E. Hamilton, dated January 15, 1906, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XIV, pp. 483, 484. Cummins' political opponents claimed that he deliberately held up the primary law until it would be of most use to him in 1908. The law provided for the first registration of party affiliation in June, 1908, a situation which enabled many Democrats to vote in the primaries for Cummins simply by recording themselves as Republicans, and without any affidavit of change of party affiliation. This could not have happened had the law gone into effect in 1906 and every voter have been re-

But he was not satisfied to limit primary elections to the State. As United States Senator he introduced bills into Congress providing for the nomination of the President and Vice President in primaries, and at one time when the Committee on Privileges and Elections failed to report his bill, he went so far as to ask to have it withdrawn from the committee. In a popular address before the Grant Club in Des Moines, he argued for a national primary election law.⁶³

Cummins led out in the movement for the direct election of United States Senators. As early as 1898, at least, he began to display an interest in the subject. In 1902 he wrote to William Jennings Bryan that he had for years been interested in the subject, having twice procured the adoption of such a plank in the State platforms. He took an active part in the Interstate Senatorial Amendment Convention held in Des Moines in 1906, and in his biennial message in 1907 he stressed this reform measure. When he became Senator he argued for and voted for the submission of the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution.⁶⁴

Cummins was quite concerned over the relationship of the Congress to the President. He feared a strong executive, and he insisted that the law-making prerogatives of Congress should not be invaded. In 1913 he said on the floor of the Senate: "I do not believe . . . that a President . . . should be permitted to set up a standard

quired to register his party affiliation at that time. For this argument see the editorial in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, October 14, 1914.

⁶³ *Congressional Record*, 63rd Congress, 1st Session, p. 161, April 12, 1913, 2nd Session, pp. 4312, 4313, March 5, 1914; *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), March 15, 1913.

⁶⁴ Letter to J. A. T. Hull, dated June 15, 1898, in *Personal Letters: Political*, p. 528; letter to W. J. Bryan, dated February 20, 1902, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. I, p. 134.

of loyalty or of patriotism, either to the party or to the country, and to hold every man disloyal who did not accept it.”⁶⁵

In a campaign speech at Colfax, Iowa, in 1914, he said: “I am not opposed to the leadership of a president, but I am opposed to the use of presidential power in overcoming and enslaving the free will of congress.”⁶⁶ His complaint was not altogether partisan, for he inveighed as heavily against President William H. Taft as against President Woodrow Wilson.⁶⁷ One of the means he suggested to restrict the power of the President was a single term of six years.⁶⁸

In addition to these reforms, Cummins spoke in support of a moderate use of the initiative and referendum, although he never pushed these measures.⁶⁹ He sought to curb the power of the railroads and other corporations

⁶⁵ *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 3rd Session, p. 2407, February 1, 1913.

⁶⁶ *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), September 29, 1914, p. 6.

⁶⁷ See particularly the *Congressional Record*, 61st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 3342, March 18, 1910, 62nd Congress, 1st Session, p. 3732, August 8, 1911. See also *Senator Cummins' Bill of Particulars* in *The Outlook*, Vol. XCIX, pp. 96, 97; Cummins' *The President's Influence a Menace* in *The Independent*, Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 350, 351.

⁶⁸ Cummins reported this proposed constitutional amendment from the Committee on the Judiciary on May 21, 1912.—*Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, p. 6857. For his argument see the *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 11255–11263, August 19, 1912, 3rd Session, p. 2419, February 1, 1913.

⁶⁹ A speech before the Republican Club of New York on February 4, 1911, reported in the *Nonpareil* (Council Bluffs), February 5, 1911. See also speeches before the United States Senate, *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 1st Session, p. 3730, August 8, 1911, 2nd Session, p. 3837, March 27, 1912, p. 11258, August 19, 1912, 3rd Session, pp. 2363–2366, 2401–2407, January 31, 1913. In 1914 Cummins submitted a minority report from the Committee on the Judiciary recommending the submission of “an amendment providing that either a proportion of the States or a proportion of the people, or both, should have the power to initiate amendments to our Constitution.”—*Congressional Record*, 63rd Congress, 2nd Session, p. 2923, February 5, 1914.

in Iowa by sponsoring measures which prohibited free passes and corporate campaign contributions. He advocated publicity for campaign expenditures. He delivered some attacks on caucus government as opposed to free and open discussion on the floors of the houses. He particularly condemned the way in which the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act and the Underwood Tariff Act were formulated.⁷⁰ He argued for woman suffrage and voted for the submission of the Nineteenth Amendment.⁷¹ He put himself on record as opposed to the practice of having a lame duck Congress.⁷²

CORPORATIONS AND GOVERNMENT

In his views on the regulation of business Cummins was undoubtedly influenced by the "awakening sentiment" that gripped the whole country after 1901. Under the impetus of a small group of writers, most important of whom were Ida M. Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, Upton Sinclair, Thomas W. Lawson, Ray S. Baker, and David Graham Phillips, the economic and political conditions of the time were so vividly portrayed that the whole country arose in revolt against the rule of the conservatives or "standpatters". In a way, Cummins rode the wave of reform in Iowa as did Robert M. La Follette in Wisconsin, Joseph W. Folk in Missouri, Charles E. Hughes in New York, Hiram Johnson in California, Henry Bristow in Kansas, Moses E. Clapp in Minnesota, Albert J. Beveridge in Indiana, and Theodore Roosevelt in the nation as a whole.

⁷⁰ *Congressional Record*, 63rd Congress, 1st Session, p. 2556, July 19, 1913, 2nd Session, pp. 161-163, December 4, 1913.

⁷¹ *Congressional Record*, 65th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 10977, 10978, October 1, 1918, 3rd Session, pp. 634, 635, June 4, 1919.

⁷² *Congressional Record*, 67th Congress, 4th Session, p. 4241, February 22, 1923.

But Cummins was in the forefront of the fight. Most of the writers referred to did not attract much attention, until Cummins was well along in his terms as Governor. Cummins, it will be recalled, gained somewhat of a national reputation in the barbed wire case while he was yet practicing law. It was not until he was Governor, though, that he had the opportunity to give his views wide publicity.⁷³

His chief concern was that business should never reach the point where it could corrupt governmental processes, and that it should never reach monopolistic proportions where it could threaten the interests of either investor or consumer. His approach to the problem was both direct and indirect.

He advocated such direct laws as were necessary to curb the offending corporations. As Governor he began his program. In his first inaugural address in 1902 he made the somewhat startling suggestion that every corporation have its "capital stock paid for at par, in money", before it should be authorized to do business. In both his inaugural address and the biennial message in 1904 he made similar recommendations and again in his biennial message in 1907. The Thirty-second General Assembly in 1907 finally passed a law which required that corporations receive par value for all stocks issued and submit to an investigation by the Executive Council.⁷⁴

⁷³ Thomas W. Lawson began his articles, chiefly on *Frenzied Finance*, in *Everybody's Magazine* in January, 1905. Ida M. Tarbell began her *The History of the Standard Oil Company* in the November, 1902, issue of *McClure's Magazine*. David G. Phillips' articles on *The Treason of the Senate* appeared in *Cosmopolitan* beginning March, 1906. (His arraignment of William B. Allison was in Vol. XLI, pp. 627-636). Upton B. Sinclair's novel, *The Jungle*, was published as a book in 1906.

⁷⁴ *Iowa Documents*, 1902, Vol. I, pp. 6, 7; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1904, pp. 47, 79; *Journal of the Senate*, 1907, p. 24; *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Ch. 71, pp. 75, 76.

Cummins also recommended a law prohibiting campaign contributions from corporations, and such a law was passed in 1907. He called for a law which required publicity for campaign expenditures, and the legislature responded.⁷⁵ Although no law was passed, he inveighed heavily against political lobbyists.⁷⁶ The story of his specific attacks on the railroads, the chief offenders at that time, will be told later.

Cummins wanted to curb monopolies indirectly by an adjustment of the tariff to preserve the principle of competition. Competition he felt was the essential feature of our industrial system, and whenever it disappeared the alternative was socialism. Then, too, monopoly was not necessary. The United States is so large that no industry need dominate its field. Time and again he used this phrase: "Competition we must have; that of the republic if possible, that of the world if necessary."⁷⁷

In the Senate his work for the regulation of business was consistent with his earlier attitude on the subject as Governor. In his Senate debates he stressed the principle of competition as a regulating force. He also enlarged on this subject in most of the popular addresses which he made at this time.⁷⁸ He took a very active part

⁷⁵ Biennial message of Governor Cummins in the *Journal of the Senate*, 1907, pp. 27, 28; *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Ch. 50, pp. 50, 51, Ch. 73, pp. 76, 77.

⁷⁶ Inaugural address of Governor Cummins in *Iowa Documents*, 1902, Vol. I, p. 12; biennial message of Governor Cummins in the *Journal of the Senate*, 1907, p. 27. In the announcement of his candidacy for the third term, Cummins attacked the lobbyist, asserting that railroads were exerting political influence in Des Moines. The legislature took exception to the charge and in a resolution asked Cummins to be specific. Cummins answered in a communication in which he again dealt in more or less general terms. — See *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1906, pp. 874–877.

⁷⁷ See, for example, his 1902 Marquette Club address, reported in *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), October 10, 1902.

⁷⁸ See especially his 1909 Marquette Club address, in *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), November 7, 1909.

in opposing the creation of a United States Court of Commerce, speaking for four days on the subject.⁷⁹ He also started his investigation into the affairs of the American Tobacco Company,⁸⁰ and he introduced and voted for the bill which provided for a Federal Trade Commission.⁸¹

Cummins voted for the Clayton Act directed against trusts, but he was chiefly responsible for section six which held that the labor of a human being "is not a commodity or article of commerce", and hence this anti-trust law did not apply to labor and agricultural organizations.⁸² He supported child labor legislation, voting for the act which would have excluded from interstate commerce products in the manufacture of which child labor was used, and later voting for the submission of the constitutional amendment.⁸³ He argued for and introduced a bill providing for government manufacture of munitions of war, an act which it was claimed led the old guard to oppose his nomination for President in 1916.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ March 15, 16, 17, and 18, 1910. See his speeches combined and printed in the *Congressional Record*, 61st Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 3341-3386. It is interesting to note that the platform of the Progressive party in 1912 demanded the abolition of the commerce court.

⁸⁰ *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 4706-4713, 4773-4780, April 13, 15, 1912. See also the minority report, signed by Cummins (for himself) from the Committee on the Judiciary, in the *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, p. 4152, April 2, 1912.

⁸¹ *Congressional Record*, 63rd Congress, 1st Session, p. 876, May 1, 1913, 2nd Session, p. 13319, August 5, 1914.

⁸² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. 1, Ch. 323, Sec. 6, p. 731; *Congressional Record*, 63rd Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 13980, 14591, 14609, 14610, August 19, September 2, 1914; *American Federationist*, Vol. XXII, pp. 666-669.

⁸³ *Congressional Record*, 64th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 12276-12284, August 8, 1916, 68th Congress, 1st Session, p. 10142, June 2, 1924.

⁸⁴ *Congressional Record*, 64th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 134, 1243-1248, December 10, 1915, January 19, 1916. *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), January 23, 1916; Cummins' *Defense and Revenue in the Next Congress* in *The American Review of Reviews*, Vol. LII, pp. 555-558.

In the addresses that Cummins made on farm relief, in which he advocated the essential principles of the McNary-Haugen Bill, he was forced to reconcile his views on competition with the view that the farmers should organize. To reconcile these views he held that competition was enforced in industry either to reduce prices that had been raised by combinations or to prevent a further increase in prices. The farm bill would accomplish a "reverse effect". A few people would be forced to coöperate to make prices reasonable and to stabilize farm products.⁸⁵

Cummins' arguments on railroad regulation may best be shown by dividing his life into two periods, the first centering around his activities as Governor and the second around the passage of the Esch-Cummins Law of 1920. During his administration as Governor he developed a significant program of railroad legislation. It began with his veto of the so-called Molsberry Bill, an act which would have authorized an increase of indebtedness of certain Iowa corporations and one which the railroad crowd was very desirous of having passed. William Larrabee said later that this bill would have turned the State into a "kind of New Jersey" or "a state for the purpose of manufacturing corporations." This veto was the most important of the seven which Cummins used.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ *Congressional Record*, 69th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 10079-10085, May 26, 1926, pp. 11624-11637, June 19, 1926. See quotation on p. 11630.

⁸⁶ See the campaign speech of William Larrabee for Cummins at Independence, Iowa, reported in *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), July 29, 1906. The bill was Senate File 138, introduced by F. M. Molsberry of Columbus Junction. For Cummins' veto message see *Journal of the Senate*, 1902, pp. 786-791. Henry Wallace, editor of *Wallace's Farmer* told how he visited Cummins in the Governor's office and saw the telegrams from railroad officials and personal friends, begging Cummins not to veto the bill. This veto, said Wallace, was for Cummins the parting of the ways.—*The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), May 14, 1908, pp. 1, 6. See also Jacob A. Swisher's *The Executive Veto in Iowa* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XV, pp. 203, 204.

Much campaign material was made of the policy of the Executive Council on railroad assessments, but the record can hardly be called one of reform. It was simply one of fair progress. A few changes were made by the legislature in the nature of the reports made by the railroads and the time of their submission to the Executive Council, but these reforms were urged by Governor Shaw as well as by Cummins. As far as the assessment of the railroads was concerned, Cummins and his friends usually cited the total assessed valuation of the railroads which did increase from \$47,071,258 in 1901 to \$51,307,950 in 1902. But the percentage of assessment to net earnings was the same for these years.⁸⁷

Far more interesting is the record on free passes. This was admittedly an evil. Larrabee estimated that over \$500,000 annually was distributed in free passes over the railroads of Iowa. Cummins, himself, made free use of this sort of transportation earlier in his career, and it was not until 1906 that he pushed to adoption a law which forbade the general issuance of free passes.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ See Governor Shaw's biennial message in the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1902, p. 28, and Governor Cummins' inaugural address in *Iowa Documents*, 1902, Vol. I, p. 15-17. For a more complete analysis of assessment see the figures and tables in *Census of Iowa*, 1905, p. cxxv. John E. Brindley wrote that for the whole period from 1872 to 1910 nothing much had been accomplished aside from the more elaborate reports submitted to the Executive Council.—See his *History of Taxation in Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 100, 101.

⁸⁸ Campaign address, "The Republican Party", delivered at Fayette, Iowa, in October, 1906. It is interesting to compare Larrabee's messages to the legislature with those by Cummins. Larrabee in 1888 recommended the abolition of the free pass and the passage of the two-cent fare law.—See the Governor's biennial message in the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1888, pp. 41-43, 1906, p. 26; *Laws of Iowa*, 1906, Ch. 90, pp. 59, 60.

Cummins' opponents held that a word from him would have caused the passage of such a law during his first term, but that he held it up until such time as he might need it in his senatorial race.—See the editorial in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, October 14, 1914, p. 4.

Other reform measures urged by Cummins and passed by the legislature were a two-cent fare law, a freight rate law, a law requiring the Board of Railway Commissioners to investigate Iowa freight rates and appeal if necessary to the Interstate Commerce Commission, and a law limiting the working hours of railway employees.⁸⁹

Cummins was not satisfied to make this railway reform program State-wide in scope. He agitated for a nationwide reform through giving the Interstate Commerce Commission sufficient power to handle the situation. Henry Wallace asserted that Cummins did more to secure national railroad legislation than any others of the Iowa Senators or Congressmen of that period.⁹⁰

The railroad situation which Senator Cummins found in 1919 was vastly different from the one in 1907 and 1910. At the earlier time the carriers were deep in politics and were in need of reform. They had just closed an era dur-

Cummins' letters show that he drew rather heavily on free transportation from 1896 to at least the time of his contest with Gear in 1900. When he became Governor he stated that he had ceased to ask the railroads for such favors. But he was not averse to asking for them indirectly and from J. W. Blythe himself.—See letter to W. H. Beall, dated April 6, 1903, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. V, p. 61. It was not until 1905 that he refused such transportation for himself and family. There are sixteen letters of refusal in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XII, pp. 49, ff.

⁸⁹ See the Governor's biennial messages in the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1906, pp. 26, 27; *Journal of the Senate*, 1907, pp. 34-36; *Laws of Iowa*, 1907, Chs. 102, 103, 108, 111.

⁹⁰ Cummins was sent by the Interstate Commerce Association along with La Follette and Van Sant to present the case to President Roosevelt. In 1905 Cummins appeared before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, of which Senator S. B. Elkins was chairman, and argued against the discrimination practiced by the railroads not only against individuals but against localities and States. The full text of his address is given in *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), May 12, 1905, pp. 1, 2. This appearance before the committee led to the controversy with Elkins over his conduct of the hearings. Wallace's statement was given in *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), May 14, 1908. Cummins never accorded Hepburn a great deal of credit for the passage of the Hepburn Bill of 1906.

ing which they had secured thousands of acres of free land, and they were not without funds to dabble in politics. The problem then was to curb their power and correct their abuses. But the regulatory policy which developed was too often "restrictive" and "punitive" in character rather than constructive. Too often it was dominated by political principles rather than by those of statesmanship. The concentration was on the issues of the free pass and discrimination among individuals, localities, and States to the neglect of the deeper issues of finance and labor. It was a legislative situation for which the railroads were not without fault, but that did not lessen the harm done.⁹¹

By 1919 the railroads were a sick industry. Their situation had been complicated when the government took them over for greater efficiency during the World War, and the problem was brought to a head when the time came to return them to their owners. Although Cummins had taken part in the earlier period of regulation, it was he, perhaps more than any other man, who in 1919 saw the real problem and assumed the responsibility for framing and passing the necessary legislation.⁹²

The law which resulted was a constructive rather than a restrictive one. It was not political in nature, and it was not designed for popular appeal. In addition, the law itself was a compromise of many views. As a consequence, one cannot gain a fair knowledge of Cummins' ideas from an examination of this statute alone. The Senate bill, or as it was known, the Cummins Bill, even had in it some elements

⁹¹ For a summary of the criticisms of our regulatory policy up to 1918 see Sydney L. Miller's *Railway Transportation*, pp. 805, 806.

⁹² In the first session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, in 1919, Cummins became the chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce. His three-day speech on railroads is an exceptionally able argument.—See the *Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 117-147, December 2, 3, 4, 1919.

of compromise. His theories on the fundamental points at issue can best be learned by tracing their evolution into the finished bill.

Early in 1919 Cummins presented his views before the Iowa legislature. At this time he advocated a three-point program involving a government guarantee to the railroads, compulsory consolidation, and private operation. He hoped to accomplish these results by a form of government ownership. The government could acquire all the properties or all the securities and substitute new obligations for them. It could then consolidate the properties into a comparatively few systems, merging the stronger roads with the weaker ones so as to preserve competition in service.

Private operation could be put into effect by a leasing system, although he felt that a better way would be to arrange for a corporate ownership of the several systems, each corporation with a capitalization representing the actual value of the particular system. The government would control rates and guarantee the return, although a reasonable sum in excess of the guarantee might be allowed as an incentive for efficiency.⁹³

When he came to draft his bill later in 1919, Cummins left out any reference to government ownership and compromised on the question of a governmental guarantee. Instead of having the government acquire the railroads, merge them, and then turn them over to private companies for operation, he provided for consolidation of the existing roads into from twenty to thirty-five systems. This was to be compulsory at the end of seven years. The final law

⁹³ See his address to the Thirty-eighth General Assembly, March 27, 1919, in the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1919, pp. 1355-1365. See also Cummins' *The Railway Problem* in *The American Review of Reviews*, Vol. LX, pp. 61-66; and his *Our Most Important Problem As I See It* in *The Independent*, Vol. XCIX, pp. 324, ff.

merely permitted consolidations but did not compel them. This part of Cummins' plan never went into effect.⁹⁴

Instead of a direct governmental guarantee he wanted to substitute, except for the first six months, a rule of rate-making which would permit the roads to make five and one half per cent, with an additional one-half of one per cent allowed on their investment. A percentage of the excess was to be paid into a contingent fund and administered by the government for the benefit of the weaker roads. To determine this rate, the Interstate Commerce Commission was to conduct a valuation of the roads, following the law of the land as laid down by the Supreme Court, and periodically to revise the rates on the principles given above.⁹⁵

Cummins' modified ideas on rate-making prevailed in the final law, but since the success of this provision was in turn dependent upon the success of the consolidation and valuation programs, neither of which has been accomplished to date, it is a little difficult to pronounce judgment on this section. After thirteen years of operation the contingent fund was finally liquidated.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ This and the following comparisons of the Cummins Bill and the final Transportation Act of 1920 are taken from the *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XLI, Ch. 91; a paragraph by paragraph comparison of the Cummins bill and the Esch bill prepared by Richard Waterman and published in *Hearings before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives, on H. R. 4378, 66th Congress 1st Session*, Vol. III, p. 3576; and *Government Control of Railroads*, by Cummins, in Report No. 304, from the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, November 10, 1919, to accompany S. 3288, 66th Congress, 1st Session, Serial No. 7590.

⁹⁵ This attempt at rate-making is the famous Section 15A. Despite frequent assertion to the contrary, this was not a governmental guarantee except for the first six months. And even the six per cent provision went out of effect at the end of two years. Sydney L. Miller said of this guarantee criticism, "Its continued assertion must be ascribed to inexcusable ignorance of fact or to malicious purpose".—See his *Railway Transportation*, p. 878.

⁹⁶ By the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act of 1933.—*United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XLVIII, Ch. 91, Sec. 206.

A final point to be noted was his attitude on labor. Cummins' bill provided for regional boards of adjustment with appeals allowed to the transportation board (which would have assumed part of the administration of the act). Decisions were final and strikes and lockouts were unlawful. This arbitration policy did not mean that Cummins was opposed to collective bargaining; he merely felt that there was a better way of settling disputes than by strikes and lockouts. Although his ideas did not prevail in the final law, which provided merely for investigation of disputes by government authorities, with no power to enforce decisions, he held to his original views to the very end.⁹⁷

This analysis of Cummins' later ideas on the railroads makes clear his attitude on the issue. First, he was willing to take a constructive rather than a political approach to the whole problem. Second, his ideas were considerably different from, if not in advance of, the ideas which prevailed in the final bill. Third, he was willing to compromise to obtain results. Fourth, with the exception of the provisions of government ownership and a government guarantee, his ideas on the subject changed little during his later years.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ The Railroad Labor Board, created by the Transportation Act of 1920, was replaced in 1926 by a Board of Mediation. It had settled some 13,000 disputes.—See Railway Labor Act of 1916, *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XLIV, Ch. 347; *Decisions of the United States Railroad Labor Board*; and *Railroad Labor Board, United States*, by L. M. Parker, Secretary of the Board, in the *Americana Annual*, 1926, pp. 674, 675.

Cummins voted yes on the 1926 act.—*Congressional Record*, 69th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 8968, 9207, May 11, 1926. He stated, however, that his views were still represented by his own bill.

⁹⁸ Sydney L. Miller said of the law of 1920: "All facts considered, the Transportation Act of 1920 represents a long forward step in the direction of constructive regulation".—See his *Railway Transportation*, p. 888. Edgar J. Rich spoke of the act as the first constructive railroad legislation enacted by Congress since the land grant acts passed in 1863 and 1866.—See his *The Transportation Act of 1920* in *The American Economic Review*, Vol. X, p. 507.

The 1920 railroad act probably did more to cause Cummins' defeat and to bring upon him the charge of desertion of progressive principles than any other legislation in which he ever engaged.⁹⁹ Yet any judgment passed on him in this connection should take into account at least two facts. First, the Esch-Cummins Law was not entirely his law and did not entirely represent his views. Second, the type of reform needed and popular in 1907 would have been entirely out of order in 1920. The most likely alternative to what Cummins advocated would have been government ownership. He came close to adopting this alternative; yet in all fairness, it should be said that the Senate bill probably more nearly represented Cummins' views on competition as a regulator of business than government ownership and operation would have done.

TARIFF AND RECIPROCITY

Cummins prosecuted his political fight, even during his early career as Governor, on national as well as on State issues. These national issues or ideas on tariff revision, regulation of business, and reciprocity hark back to the Iowa Republican platform of 1901, which contained the essence of what later came to be known as the "Iowa Idea".¹⁰⁰ Cummins was not the author of this idea, but he

There was need of haste in passing railroad legislation, for President Wilson in a proclamation on December 24th indicated he would return the railroads to the owners by March 1, 1920. Cummins fretted all through the passage of this legislation, not only because of the haste of Wilson but because the Senators insisted on talking about peace problems to the neglect of the railway problem.

⁹⁹ See Senator Joseph T. Robinson's memorial address in the Senate, in the *Congressional Record*, 69th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 4959; *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. IV, p. 599; *The Outlook*, Vol. CXLIII, pp. 235, 236.

¹⁰⁰ It may almost be said that certain clauses in this platform furnished the texts from this time on for all of Cummins' speeches dealing with tariff revision, competition, and reciprocity. These clauses are: "We favor

probably did more to popularize it than any other one man. In fact, he expanded the idea much further than the original framers of it had intended.¹⁰¹ To him it embraced the "fight all along the line" for progressive principles, tariff revision and reciprocity being simply phases of the general controversy.¹⁰² It is probably not too much to say that he did as much as any other one man to arouse sentiment within the Republican party for a downward revision of the tariff.¹⁰³

His attitude on the tariff is easily understood. He believed in protection, but he felt that duties should not be any higher than the difference between the cost of production here and abroad minus the cost of transportation. Throughout the period of his governorship he argued that

such changes in the tariff from time to time as becomes advisable through the progress of our industries and their changing relations to the commerce of the world. We indorse the policy of reciprocity as the natural complement of protection, and urge its development as necessary to the realization of our highest commercial possibilities. . . . We favor such amendment of the interstate commerce act as will more fully carry out its prohibition of discrimination in rate making, and any modification of the tariff schedules that may be required to prevent their affording shelter to monopoly."—See *Iowa Official Register*, 1902, p. 274, and 1903, pp. 223-225, where the same plank appears in the 1902 platform.

¹⁰¹ George E. Roberts' *The Origin and History of the Iowa Idea* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. II, pp. 69-82. Roberts said that he was the author of the sentences in the platform and that Cummins did not even know about them until the convention adopted them. The term, "Iowa Idea", is credited by Cummins as well as by Roberts to a newspaper man, Walter Wellman.

¹⁰² Letter to D. A. Valentine, dated December 22, 1904, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XI, p. 366.

¹⁰³ Beginning with his election as Governor in 1901, Cummins began to gain somewhat of a nation-wide hearing on the subjects of tariff revision, reciprocity, and regulation of monopoly. He made a series of speeches in Chicago, Detroit, Denver, Boston, St. Paul, and New York as well as in his own State. In his audience in New York were such men as Secretary of State John Hay, J. Pierpont Morgan, Andrew Carnegie, Mayor-elect Seth Low, Carl Schurz, and Ambassador Joseph H. Choate. Cummins, of course, was not the only speaker at the meeting.—See *The Des Moines Daily Leader*, November 20, 1901.

the duties of the Dingley Tariff Law of 1897 were too high. Speaking before the Republican Polk County Convention of 1903, he said:

All that we insist upon is that protection shall not be made the instrument of unlawful gain; that it shall not be taken from its high place and lowered to the selfish plane of illegitimate profit.¹⁰⁴

When he entered the Senate in 1908 he had an opportunity to do something about the high tariff. Quickly joining the little group of progressives composed of La Follette, Beveridge, and others, and without waiting to serve an apprenticeship, he took part in the debates which preceded the passage of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act. He gave seven major addresses on the subject, and participated in many minor debates. His chief interest was in the metal, woolen, sugar, and cotton schedules, and in the income tax as a means of raising revenue. This last proposal was an offensive drive against those who maintained that high tariff duties were justified in that they brought more revenue into the treasury of the United States. He voted, of course, against the final tariff bill.¹⁰⁵

Particular attention should be called to his work for a tariff commission or a tariff board at this time. He spoke for such a board many times, and voted for it whenever the opportunity presented itself. His idea was that an

¹⁰⁴ *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), March 15, 1903. Cummins gave innumerable speeches on the tariff. One of the best was his opening address in the campaign of 1905.—See *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), October 13, 1905.

¹⁰⁵ *Congressional Record*, 61st Congress, 1st Session, p. 4316, July 8, 1909. Senator Cummins refrained from voting on the conference report (p. 4954). He proposed an amendment to the tariff act of this session providing for an income tax as a method of raising revenue. It was a graduated tax, starting with two per cent on incomes of five thousand dollars and going up to six per cent on incomes over one hundred thousand dollars (pp. 1420, 1421). Cummins probably did as much as any other Senator to awaken interest in a personal income tax.—See also his *The Reason for the Income Tax* in *The Independent*, Vol. LXVII, pp. 178-182.

independent commission should investigate the cost of production here and abroad and report such findings to Congress, which in turn could then revise the tariff, schedule by schedule.¹⁰⁶

Cummins was also opposed to the Democratic revision of 1913, because he felt the duties were too low. He expressed his opinion of a tariff for revenue only in one speech:

Duties imposed for the purpose of raising a revenue are taxes upon consumption and . . . in these days when governments are taking more thought of humanity and less of property a tax upon the consumption of all the people merely to raise a revenue is abhorrent to even the bluntest conception of fair dealing.¹⁰⁷

In the Republican tariff revision of 1922, he first voted for the Fordney-McCumber bill which passed the Senate; but on the conference report he voted with the opposition. At this time he again argued for a tariff commission with authority to ascertain the difference between the cost of production here and abroad.¹⁰⁸

Cummins' public utterances on reciprocity are more difficult to restate, because his record on this subject is not quite as consistent as is his record on the tariff. The high point of his activity for the cause of reciprocity occurred during his governorship. At this time he argued

¹⁰⁶ In his speech at Knoxville, in answer to Speaker Cannon, he said, "Now I'll tell you what my agitation is. I want a commission, like a court, if you please, authorized to go about, take testimony, take evidence and examine books, and then tell the people of the United States the difference between the cost of manufacturing here and abroad. I don't want another revision until we know those differences."—See *The Sioux City Journal*, October 9, 1909.

¹⁰⁷ Cummins voted against the Underwood Tariff Bill in the Senate and on the conference report failed to vote.—See *Congressional Record*, 63rd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 2557, 4617, 5347, July 19, September 9, October 2, 1913.

¹⁰⁸ *Congressional Record*, 67th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 7699, 11626, 11627, 12907, May 26, August 19, September 19, 1922.

for trade agreements between the United States and other countries, notably Canada, France, Germany, and the Latin American nations. He insisted that such agreements should deal with competitive products, for to him reciprocity was meaningless if only non-competitive products were considered. True reciprocity, he felt, was a give and take process. He argued, too, that such agreements should not be made with an eye to local interests. Reciprocity was a national problem.

Such a policy of reciprocity, Cummins declared, would stimulate domestic production by admitting to our country the products necessary for the development of our factories, such as coal, pig iron, and iron ore from Canada. Such increased activity would, by enlarging our labor supply, aid the farmers of the midwest to dispose of their products. But more important, it would at the same time stimulate our foreign trade. He thought this was our best chance, if not our only chance, to gain a greater share of the world trade. If we did not soon seize such an opportunity, such trade might be lost to us forever.¹⁰⁹

In 1911 Cummins had an opportunity to vote for the reciprocity agreement with Canada, favored by President Taft, but he joined with the other progressives in the Senate to oppose it. In a four-day speech before the Senate he gave his reasons for this vote. He felt that the President was unduly attempting to influence legislation in the first place, and in the second place, the agreement favored manufactured products over agricultural products.¹¹⁰ His opponents claimed this action was inconsistent with his

¹⁰⁹ One of the best sources for his ideas is his *Reciprocity* in *Encyclopedia Americana*, Vol. XV, 1904, No. 47.

¹¹⁰ *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 2566-2573, 2586-2595, 2600-2607, 2623-2638, 3175, June 28, 29, 30, July 5, 22, 1911. The bill passed the Senate on July 22, 1911, and was approved by the President on July 27th (p. 2385), but the Canadian government failed to approve the agreement and it never went into effect.

former views and that his defense was merely that of a politician retiring from an untenable position.¹¹¹ Certainly Cummins showed the capacity to estimate correctly the public opinion of his section, for in the midwest reciprocity was not as popular at this time as it had been in 1905.¹¹²

THE WORLD WAR AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Cummins directed his thinking and public utterances almost entirely to domestic problems. Occasionally, however, he did discuss the wider international questions. Prior to 1917 his thinking on foreign affairs was somewhat incidental and perfunctory. The chief attention which he gave to the subject was in connection with his policy of reciprocity. The World War, however, forced him into a more complete expression of his philosophy.

In his public pronouncements on foreign policy he may be classed as a moderate. He was an isolationist but not a pacifist. In an article written in 1915, Senator Cummins asserted: "Those who are preaching peace at any price cannot mean what they say. It is an abasing, destructive doctrine and obliterates all distinction between the freeman and the slave . . . between the self-reliant and self-respecting nation and the abject, harried dependency." In 1915 and 1916 he was restrained in his demands for preparedness, and even when the final test came to vote for or against war with Germany, he joined the majority only in order to give "evidence of unity among the people of the United States." He stated then that he believed there was a better and more effective way of solving our problem than by a declaration of war, and if he thought there was a chance that this other way could be adopted, he would not

¹¹¹ Editorial in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, October 14, 1914.

¹¹² In his speeches after 1905 Cummins did not stress the issue of reciprocity. For his popular defense of his actions see, for example, his open letter in the *Waterloo Evening Courier*, July 19, 1911.

hesitate to argue for it. He did not state, however, what the other way was.¹¹³

After the die was cast, Cummins lent his whole-hearted support to the effective prosecution of the war, but he came in for considerable criticism for being a member of that "little group of willful men" who obstructed Wilson's program of arming merchant vessels. The Iowa legislature talked of censuring him for this so-called filibuster; and a resolution was purported to have been introduced, although the record does not reveal any such action.¹¹⁴

Cummins was not an obstructionist to the Wilson measure. He simply offered an amendment and spoke for a short time. He believed the resolution gave the President power to declare war; hence he was opposed to it in that form. The speech is a dignified one; it deals in sound argument; it smacks of sincerity. It is not the typical filibuster speech.¹¹⁵

At the close of the war he opposed the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations. His chief argument was that this country should not commit itself to any program which involved the loss of political sovereignty. He was consistent, at least, in this view, for on the question of war debts he favored giving the money outright to the nations of Europe. He saw possibilities of entangling alliances in a situation in which the United States became a great creditor nation. If no loss of sovereignty was involved, however, he favored participation by the United States in world affairs. As early as 1917 he began to argue for a world court, and in 1926 he voted for adherence to that

¹¹³ See his *Defense and Revenue in the Next Congress* in *The American Review of Reviews*, Vol. LII, pp. 555-558; *Congressional Record*, 65th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 250-261, April 14, 1917.

¹¹⁴ *Waterloo Evening Courier and Reporter*, March 7, 1917.

¹¹⁵ *Congressional Record*, 64th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 4907-4912, March 3, 1917.

body, subject to the five well-known reservations incorporated in the measure.¹¹⁶

PROGRESSIVE OR CONSERVATIVE

At one time Cummins was regarded as one of the leading progressives of the country. When he died he was thought of by many as a conservative. How well grounded was his progressivism? This is the question which is invariably asked about him.

A study of Cummins' ideas, if we judge them by the standards of progressivism of his day, shows him to be distinctly a liberal. But his letters, his articles, and his speeches are nearly all moderate in tone.

If his followers ever accorded him more zeal for reform than he had, it was because they first wished it. Until 1901 he was thwarted politically by the leaders of his party, and when he took things into his own hands, he had to fight every inch of the way. Naturally he tried to appeal to every reform group in the State, but the extremists among liberals are hard to satisfy. There were many then, no doubt, who wanted him to be more of a reformer than he really was and were disappointed when they thought he had failed them.¹¹⁷

A study of Cummins' ideas as they were translated into law during his terms as Governor shows him to be moderate. The first six years of his governorship were not par-

¹¹⁶ *Congressional Record*, 64th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 2231, January 30, 1917, 65th Congress, 1st Session, p. 757, April 17, 1917, 3rd Session, pp. 4309-4316, February 26, 1919; 69th Congress, 1st Session, p. 2825, January 27, 1926.

¹¹⁷ Mr. Ora Williams, of Des Moines, contributed this incident: Cummins was ill during the spring and summer of 1904. On his enforced vacation of two or three weeks, he was the guest of H. M. Flagler, the Florida capitalist, promoter, and railroad builder. On his return to Des Moines he told Williams of the visit but asked him not to print it as the fact would "damn" him among his friends.—Interview by the writer with Williams, Des Moines, March 27, 1937.

ticularly notable for reform. Herbert Quick wrote in 1906, "A La Follette would have at least had the issues made up in less than five years."¹¹⁸ It was the approaching senatorial election of 1908 and the political jockeying of his opponents for it that furnished in part the stimulation for the first real reform session of the legislature in 1907. A survey of the reform legislation during Cummins' terms as Governor shows a preponderance of it in this 1907 session.

Just as circumstances during his early career forced him into more of a reform program than he otherwise might have adopted, so circumstances during his later career led him to a policy of a greater moderation than he might ordinarily have followed. What were these later influences?

Some of his crusading spirit may have been lost when he began to angle for a presidential nomination. This ambition dated back to 1903 when the question of his receiving second place on the ticket with Theodore Roosevelt was not beyond the dreams of his friends or even of himself.¹¹⁹ In 1907 he said he "honestly" believed there was more likelihood of his nomination as the Republican candidate for the presidency in 1908 than of any other man save Roosevelt.¹²⁰ And his belief was not altogether without foundation, for he was mentioned in the press, although more often for second than for first place on the ticket.¹²¹

Had the cards fallen just a little differently in 1912 Cummins might have received the presidential nomination. At first he supported La Follette, and then, much to the latter's disgust, finally announced his own candidacy. But he went into the convention with the handicap of a divided

¹¹⁸ *Cummins of Iowa* in *Reader Magazine*, Vol. VIII, pp. 586-589.

¹¹⁹ See *Personal Letters*, Vol. IV, pp. 89, 222.

¹²⁰ Letter to John C. Kelley, dated June 1, 1907, in *Personal Letters*, Vol. XX, pp. 113-115.

¹²¹ See, for example, the editorial in *The American Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 9.

State delegation, and when the Taft forces began to function, there was not even a chance for Roosevelt.¹²²

Cummins made one more attempt in 1916, this time having the united support of his State delegation and he came closer to the goal than ever before. In a poll of Republican State chairmen in November of 1915 Cummins stood second to Hughes as the candidate of the Republican party, although the *Literary Digest* poll gave him only fourth place.¹²³

To what extent he hoped for the nomination of his party in 1920 it is difficult to say. Whether he shaped his policies with this objective in mind is only a guess. We know that by 1920 the country was tired of progressivism. People longed for nothing more than to get back to normalcy whatever that was. Cummins may have thought that the most acceptable man was one who had endeared himself to the progressives and yet who remained entirely acceptable to the conservatives. The opinion of Senator George W. Norris is interesting. He wrote of Cummins:

He came into the Senate as a leading progressive. He died with the reputation of being quite a conservative. He was led into the conservative camp, I think, by a systematic attempt to flatter him and to lead him astray . . . I think he had an ambition to be President of the United States and this had more to do with the allurements which were held before him by men, who were not his friends, in an effort to get his great power and his great influence

¹²² *The Des Moines Capital*, January 20, 1912. La Follette's story is well told in his *Autobiography*. He claimed Cummins gave him repeated assurances of support. When Cummins announced his own candidacy, La Follette said, "I was now to be reminded that nothing weighs lighter than a promise." (pp. 516-518). For an impartial view of Cummins' action, see *Meaning of the Cummins Boom* in *The Literary Digest*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 193-195. Cummins received seventeen votes, although he refused to allow his name to be presented. — See *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), June 23, 1912.

¹²³ *The Evening Gazette* (Cedar Rapids), May 17, 1916; *The New York World*, November 30, 1915, taken from *Newspaper Clippings*, Vol. VII; *The Literary Digest*, Vol. LI, pp. 1403-1405.

upon their side of any particular pending political controversy.¹²⁴

Even if these presidential aspirations did not tend to make him more moderate in his reform program, the Democratic victory in 1912 at least made him appear so. The Wilson program was probably more progressive than the program of the group of Republicans to which Cummins belonged.¹²⁵ This group of Republicans found many of their issues taken away from them. Without changing his beliefs at all, Cummins, almost overnight, found himself a moderate as compared to many of the Democrats.

Also the fact that he was a member of the opposition tended to tie him closer to all of his Republican colleagues. Instead of fighting one another as before, all the Republican members found it convenient to draw closer together for more effective political opposition. The psychology of being in opposition to a reform President undoubtedly had some influence on Cummins, and for eight years this influence lasted.

By 1920 Cummins, justly or unjustly, was known as a conservative. This year marked the definite beginning of the political decline which led to his final defeat. In 1920, despite the honor that had come to him in his election as President *pro tempore* of the Senate, he went into one of the hardest political fights of his career up to that time, probably winning because the conservatives whom he had formerly opposed came to his aid.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Letter to the writer, dated May 14, 1937.

¹²⁵ A. M. Schlesinger wrote, "The election of 1912 was a victory for progressivism if not for the Progressives Summoned in special session on April 7, 1913, the new Congress proceeded to carry through a legislative program which was one of the most notable in American history, in scope and importance." — See his *Political and Social Growth of the United States*, pp. 467, 468.

¹²⁶ *Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 4, 5, May 19, 1919; *The Des Moines Capital*, June 6, 1920, July 30, 1926. The vote in the June,

Somehow he was not able to retain the popular confidence he had once enjoyed. In 1924, after thirty-two ballots, he was deprived of his chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce.¹²⁷ Later in the same year he campaigned against the La Follette ticket.¹²⁸ In 1926 he again met Brookhart in the primaries which back in 1907 Cummins himself had helped create. It may have been popular resentment at the unseating of Brookhart early in 1926 in favor of his Democratic opponent, Daniel Steck,¹²⁹ it may have been resentment at the Coolidge administration for failure to provide farm relief, or it may have been opposition to the Esch-Cummins Railroad Law of 1920, but at any rate Cummins suffered as crushing a primary defeat as any he ever administered to a political opponent. Somewhere along the line he had lost the confidence of the progressive voters of Iowa.¹³⁰

He went home to write his memoirs, but after dictating a page of reminiscences of his boyhood days as a carpenter and farmer, he left off to die on July 30, 1926, before his term of office had expired.¹³¹

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1920, primaries was 115,768 for Cummins and 96,563 for Smith W. Brookhart. — *Iowa Official Register*, 1921-1922, p. 425.

¹²⁷ Senator Ellison D. Smith was elected with one vote over the majority, with Brookhart voting for Smith. — See *Congressional Record*, 68th Congress, 1st Session, p. 747, January 9, 1924. Cyrenus Cole in his *I Remember, I Remember* gave an amusing slant to this vote by Brookhart.

¹²⁸ *Ottumwa Daily Courier*, September 26, 1924, found in *Newspaper Clippings*, Vol. IX, pp. 137-139.

¹²⁹ Cummins asked to be excused from voting. — See *Congressional Record*, 69th Congress, 1st Session, p. 6859.

¹³⁰ The vote was 137,367 for Cummins to 208,894 for Brookhart. — *Iowa Official Register*, 1927-1928, p. 349.

¹³¹ Interview by the writer with Mrs. Kate Rawson, Des Moines, March 27, 1937; *The Des Moines Register*, July 31, 1926.

AN EARLY NORSE SETTLEMENT IN IOWA

To an immigrant who in the middle fifties of the last century came to northeastern Iowa to build a home and make his living as a farmer the southern part of Howard County and the northern part of Chickasaw County must have looked both desolate and romantic. Hardly a human habitation was in sight. Rolling prairies separated by narrow valleys or extensive lowlands overgrown with tall grass, pathless except for occasional tracks of deer, were the main features of the landscape. At intervals of seven or eight miles creeks or small rivers gave variety, picturesqueness, and a sense of habitability to the land. Running water speaks a language understood by both man and beast; it is the emblem and supporter of life. Early settlers built in its vicinity if suitable farming land was near. Another thing they looked for was timber to supply building material, fuel, windbreaks, and possibly game to eke out their food supply.

In early years there must have been some large birds in these parts, since extinct here, for three of the larger streams bear names suggestive of such birds — Big Turkey, Little Turkey, and Crane Creek; and one that was called Trout Run has since, I believe, fallen to the low estate of "dry run". Some sixty years ago one could hear from a distant unappropriated meadow on a summer morning the loud, melancholy "hoo-hoo, hoo-hoo" of prairie chickens, and at the equinox the rhythmic call of the wild geese as they flew in their open triangle to their next season's home. On summer evenings the whip-poor-will would at times be heard at the edge of a distant wood. At an early snowfall light-gray snow birds would sometimes

be seen near the house. And even a deer might occasionally be seen darting across a field from a forest, frightened no doubt by hunters. These sights and sounds of a by-gone period survive only in the memories of the one-time observers.

Of game animals hunted in those years the most common were prairie chickens, quails, partridges, and rabbits. Fishing was mostly a sport for the younger people, and their catch was usually confined to shiners, bull-heads, and suckers. Fish in the creeks were not abundant, but this fact did not deter the young lads from improvising hooks and snares for their capture. The attempt was relished almost as much as the success thereof. Who has not, as a young fisherman, felt the thrill of the continuous nibbling at the bait, followed by the supreme excitement when the line was pulled down and a fish, small though it might be, was pulled up?

Minks and muskrats were occasionally caught in steel traps set by young lads, who would bring their pelts to a local store and gleefully accept the then current fractional paper money in exchange.

The country roads in those times followed no section lines but wound along the easier levels and crossed streams where the bottom gave some promise of firmness. Bridges came later. Horses being scarce and expensive, steers were trained to carry the yoke and haul a load. They often became quite gentle and submissive. Oxen would sometimes indulge in a runaway when frightened, but they would quiet down sooner than horses. In the "sixties" and "seventies" oxen were used considerably as supplementary draft animals. Even on shopping trips to distant towns some farm women rode in ox-drawn wagons. In transporting wheat to the nearest railway terminal, McGregor, Iowa, on the Mississippi River, which was about sixty miles distant,

oxen as well as horses were used. On these trips, which extended over several days, neighboring farmers would usually go in a body for company and for better protection against possible Indians or other marauders. From this town the grain-haulers brought back lumber and such other heavy merchandise as could not be bought in village stores.

Here is an incident about an unsuccessful attempt to use oxen. One year, in the threshing season, a horse disease broke out, and it was impossible to find in the neighborhood a sufficient number of well horses to finish the threshing. Then oxen were tried, but this turned out to be trying all around. The oxen refused to speed up sufficiently; they simply couldn't see why they should walk faster in a circle than in a straight line. So the threshing had to wait until the horses recovered.

Not much of the first settlers' building material came from the railway terminal. Houses and outbuildings were constructed mostly of oak logs secured from forests of considerable extent along the streams already mentioned. Flooring and material for door and window casings were bought, and usually the shingles. But sometimes shingles were laboriously made by splitting sections of a white-oak log into thin boards and then carefully smoothing these down with a draw-knife. It is doubtful if many farmers possessed planes then. To prevent such shingles from warping too much some people immersed them in boiling water to expel the native sap and then put them under pressure to dry. The writer's mother used to tell how she well-nigh ruined a good wash boiler in this process. But it seems not to have been wasted labor or material, for when about thirty years later the house was removed for erection in another place and the roof cut into sections for that purpose, the shingles, though somewhat warped and worn, were still found to be entirely serviceable.

Farm buildings were also often constructed of logs but usually of more slender and less carefully chosen tree trunks. The roofs of these were covered with straw overlaid with long, coarse marsh grass, the better to shed the rain water. Sometimes a stable or shelter for cattle or oxen would be improvised with a minimum of technique by erecting a skeleton structure of four stout corner posts overlaid with strong rails and these in turn covered with lighter poles and brushwood. This rude structure would be built near the home set of grain stacks and at threshing time the straw-carrier would dump straw all over it. Entrance to this snug super-surface cave was easily made, and a rough door hung on one of the posts would keep out the wind.

For obvious reasons the early settlers built their houses near the water courses, but some, perhaps for the commanding view thus obtained and the better drainage, built on an upland or even on a knoll, as if actuated by a subconscious feeling that if another Noah's flood should submerge sinners in the valleys, they — the hill-toppers — might have some chance of escape. Early houses were, of course, rather small. The newcomers as yet had small families and three rooms would usually suffice. Furnishings were simple, carpets unknown, and rugs rare. Some of the simpler pieces of furniture, such as kitchen tables, benches, tubs, etc., were homemade. The water supply came from near-by streams or dug wells, each at first with its bucket. When an upland pioneer family had not had the time or facilities for digging or boring a well, they would sometimes provisionally depend on a seep-hole dug in a near-by meadow. This, of course, was not satisfactory and might even involve a risk. My mother had in these days two little boys, the older being about five. One morning while she was doing the housework the boys played

outdoors. After a while the younger, who was a timid lad, came in and quietly repeated something that she did not at first catch the drift of. Finally, to her horror, she realized the meaning — Ole had fallen into the seep-hole. She rushed down and found him lying on the edge with his head under water and his hands and arms busily engaged in the effort to lift himself out. His head must have been under water for several minutes. But he recovered readily and lived for about seventy-seven years after this grim experience.

Farming in new settlements about seventy years ago was an arduous occupation for two reasons: mechanical devices to ease the labor were yet few, and as most of the early settlers were newly married, their children were too young to assist much. Seeding was at first done by hand. A painter seeking a suitable subject for the sower, as Millet did in France, might easily have found it on some of the small prairie farms in the new West. The drag and the roller, the least complex farm machines, the farmer, aided by the country blacksmith, could easily provide. Harvesting machinery came more slowly, but necessity spurred invention. The grain cradle was the first harvesting contrivance. Few, if any, tasks on the farm could have been more exhausting on a hot summer day than swinging the heavy grain cradle from early morning till noon and “from noon to dewy eve”. The inventors and manufacturers, not all for their own gain, stepped in to ease the labor. The first horse-drawn harvesting machine was the so-called dropper, a rather poor makeshift; then followed the hand-raking reaper; then the self-raking reaper; and after it the “harvester” with three persons aboard the machine and three horses drawing it. This was followed by the self-binder of today.

Most picturesque of these farm machines was perhaps

the McCormick self-raker drawn by three horses, the front one ridden by a boy with a broad-brimmed straw hat, and the broad gaudy-colored rake rising and descending with rhythmic regularity. In fact it constituted an interesting feature in the summer landscape.

Another interesting and also strenuous time in summer was haying. Preceding the mower age the scythe was of course the instrument of grass-cutting, and the hand rake and the fork the means of putting the dry hay into cocks ready for hauling. Women and girls often assisted in this work and seemed to find it rather diverting. The look, the feel, and the scent of new-mown hay is very gratifying, and the season is also one of the finest of the year. We rightly rejoice in the mechanical improvements in aid of agriculture, but some picturesqueness has gone with the simpler processes. The hay-loader, for instance, drawn behind a rack is an unpoetic sight compared with a tall, finely-built load of hay with a man on top waiting for the next big forkful hoisted in mid-air by a broad-hatted man below, while the red evening sun neared the horizon and the family dog sat watching the proceedings.

A neighbor who owned some hay land in a wood a couple of miles from home had three grown girls who, when they joined in some outdoor work, usually went together even if one would have been sufficient. In the haying season they sometimes went with their father to this wood-encircled hayfield. But before going they carefully sharpened their forks, for though usually, it seemed, they were brave enough, they feared a few things — God perhaps vaguely, their parents intermittently, but rattlesnakes most of all.

The corn-planting season was about the middle of May. The field intended for this crop was usually plowed in the spring, then marked and cross-marked with a horse-drawn implement to make suitable depressions into which to drop

the kernels. Young lads with little sacks of corn hung on their shoulders would then pass along a line and drop about four kernels at every cross-mark, and a man with a hoe would follow close upon his heels and cover them. Many a time boys hired out for this purpose and earned fifty cents a day. I can still see the faces pictured on those pieces of paper money.

The threshing season was always an interesting and busy time on the farm, outdoors and indoors. Wheat was then the main crop, and it was interesting to watch the plump, brown kernels pour into the half-bushel measure. At threshing time the women served fresh meat and many extras, and the men contributed stale jokes and neighborhood gossip. The managing threshers — usually three with every outfit — earned good money and had a good time.

Early fences were somewhat picturesque but not always effective in keeping cattle out of a field. But their construction was such that they often protected wild flowers — and weeds. There were two kinds of fences — the so-called rail fence which ran in a straight line and the worm fence which zigzagged. Both were usually built of split black-oak timber with stakes driven into the ground slantwise so as to form a crotch, and directly below these a short crotch was driven in. Then a similar structure was formed about eight feet farther on in the direction in which the fence was to run. A rail was then placed on the lower crotches and two, crossing each other midway, were made to rest their ends on both crotches, upper and lower. Last of all a stout rail or bar was laid horizontally at the top. In this fence no nails were used, the idea being that the top bar by its weight would keep each section firm. But cattle soon find weak spots in a fence. When they have looked it over, they sometimes discover that they have an

itch in neck or shoulder. Then some old bossy will rub on the top rail until it tumbles down. A little further dexterity will make a passage across.

The language commonly used in the homes of these Scandinavian settlers for a generation or more was that of their native land, interspersed with some poor English. But the young people soon picked up the ordinary English from Yankee associates and from instruction in the public schools. Their elders, too, acquired it in a way as a matter of practical utility or necessity. As a rule they read Norwegian newspapers until the end of the century, or somewhat beyond that time. There used to be quite a few of these papers, but only a very few remain. The books, however, which they kept on their small shelves were mostly Norwegian and imported as part of their baggage in their large, handsomely painted wooden chests. The nature of their books was predominantly religious, and the church to which practically all of them belonged was the Lutheran. On Sundays when there was no service in their church—which happened frequently since many a pastor served more than one congregation—the father or some other member of the family would read from a thick volume the Scriptural exposition of the text ordained for that Sunday, after which a hymn was sung. At table, before beginning to eat, a child was often asked to say a memorized prayer, and if he hesitated, he was aided with a word or two of prompting.

The first church in this community was erected in the early sixties and built of logs from the near-by forests. There was no tower and no stained glass in the windows. The seats were made of pine planks supported by oak legs snugly fitted into the planks through auger holes. There were no cushions, of course, and no other invitation to let the attention lapse. There was no organ and no choir, but in

their places the parochial teacher, a stout and pleasant gentleman, acted as precentor ("Klokker"), and step by step the service came to an appropriate conclusion. The sermon lasted about fifty minutes. The minister wore a black gown and the old-style broad, white collar. There was no promiscuous handshaking at the door, as has become rather common usage of late. It may be noted, too, that during the service men and boys sat on one side of the middle aisle, and women and girls on the other. At the exit a collection was taken up to help defray church expenses, but instead of modern collection plates one or two men's hats were sometimes used. Part of the minister's salary was paid in oats and hay to keep his horses, for he needed a team and buggy to enable him to get about among his people and to travel to one or two other congregations belonging to his charge.

The Norse church member took his religion rather seriously, sometimes with heated eagerness discussing questions more suitable for the clergy. In the eighties there arose among the Norwegian Lutherans a controversy over the question of predestination — whether sinful man can in any measure contribute toward his salvation by his faith or whether faith itself is wholly a divine gift. Differences of opinion spread, and to find arguments in support of each view, considerable study of Holy Writ followed, in itself commendable, but not wholly so, since it tended to develop an unkind and controversial spirit. For a time congregations were divided and opposition churches built, but after some thirty years most of the discordant elements agreed to work together again.

The parochial school was commonly held by turns in family homes — only occasionally in a schoolhouse, and the usual season for it was late spring or early fall, when the teacher, who was also a farmer, could most easily get

away. He was a sturdy, sensible, and good-natured man, whom the scholars liked and respected. To announce the opening of the school in a distant district, perhaps five or six miles away, he would send a written slip to some family in that neighborhood announcing the date and place of the first session. This slip would then circulate until all the families of that region had been notified.

The teacher came on foot, carrying in a leather case the necessary supplies, including a ruler for marking unruled paper or castigating possible unruly youngsters. The latter function was carried out but rarely, and then mostly for the minor offense of inattention. Penmanship copy-books were not used, but the teacher wrote in a firm, smooth hand some sentences from a book for the children to copy. A short catechism, an explanatory enlargement of this, and a Bible history were the usual textbooks. Sometimes a reader of lighter matter, such as stories of a moral trend or of adventure, was used. A hymn book was always a part of a pupil's outfit.

As in most schools, the noon play-hour and the companionship on the way or part of the way home was always one of the most pleasing features of school life. A pleasant incident befell the writer two summers ago. On a visit to a point near this community he met the married granddaughter of his esteemed parochial teacher.

In attending the district school in winter in those days, the boys seldom wore overcoats, even on the coldest days. They wore homemade underwear, blouses, and woolen mittens. Even thus fortified, they often suffered in walking across elevated snow-covered fields against a stiff northwester. Sometimes white spots formed on their cheeks, to be carefully treated when they reached home. But memories of early discomforts are greatly mollified by the lapse of time.

Indoor life among these people was usually quite busy, especially among the women. Knitting stockings, mittens, scarfs, garters, and sometimes even undershirts was both an occupation and a pastime with some of them. Elderly women would often bring some light knitting along when they made an afternoon call, in which case the click of the needles would form a pleasing variant to the activity of tongues. They didn't have to watch the knitting much; that was quite familiar, and so, of course, was the accompaniment. Some of the women had brought spinning wheels from Norway and made woolen yarn from the fleece of their sheep. Carding the wool was done either with hand cards or at a woolen mill in a neighboring town. Another home industry naturally followed — the weaving of cloth for the family's clothing. Of course, this required a loom. Fortunately a family in that community owned one made of substantial pine timbers by a competent mechanic. It could easily be set up and taken apart for transport. Cloth of mixed wool and cotton in pleasing stripes of white and blue was made on it, and this wore well, though it was often a bit trying at first to a sensitive skin. Of course, almost all elderly men could mend shoes, and they sometimes made shoes for winter use from untanned cowhide with the fur side turned out, sewing the pieces together with slender strips of leather. Daintily made wooden shoes, for women's use especially, were often brought over from the old country. One farmer was a skillful blacksmith. In a rudely built but well-equipped shop he did repair work for the community — sometimes perhaps to the temporary neglect of his own farm work.

Some trivial work of an amateurish character, uncommon on farms, will just be alluded to. One farmer boy got possession of a small hand printing press intended for card printing and amusement. Not satisfied with such limita-

tions on the "freedom of the press", he ordered some fonts of book type and amused himself by printing some songs and other stuff on a press whose capacity was to cover a surface of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ x 3 inches. Another thing this lad did was somewhat less fantastic: he had observed how another boy at college, whose father had acquired the rudiments of book-binding in Norway, had proceeded to rebind a dilapidated book. So boy No. 1 bought from a local publishing house the necessary materials, made a book press operated with a wrench, constructed out of a broken section of a mower sickle a serviceable paper cutter, got some glue and paste and needle and thread—and there was the rustic book bindery! Some of the books bound there may yet exist.

As is usual among pioneers everywhere, the intelligence level of these people was higher than the cultural. They readily adapted themselves to circumstances but, except in religion, did not ruminate much about things in the abstract. Politics did not, as a rule, engage much of their attention; yet during the Civil War they sent two or three of their young men to fight for the Union. Their reading was confined mostly to religious books, some simple stories, and perhaps a weekly newspaper. Magazines, of which there were few then, did not penetrate into the country. These farmer folk would have been horrified at the large-paged, highly colored trash that passes under the name of magazine in our day. But they believed in higher education and sent some of their young people to colleges and universities. Several of these students later entered the teaching profession and one was elected a member of the State legislature.

Life then was too strenuous for many entertainments, but some there were, especially at weddings and during the Christmas season. Dancing was one of the social diver-

sions, favored by the fact that a fiddler lived not far distant. Manners were sometimes a bit crude. The writer recalls an occasion when some neighbor girls called and his mother brought a plate of cookies to be passed around. The one to whom she offered the plate — a girl perhaps of sixteen — took and retained it. What happened to the other girls, kindly fate has caused to be forgotten. At Christmas home-brewed beer was not uncommon, and an invited or a chance guest was given an opportunity to comment on its quality — which he never failed to do in terms of praise. When drunkenness occasionally occurred among these descendants of the Vikings, it was seldom at the Christmas season, but on meeting would-be friends in some country town, especially after the sale of some produce.

Dress of both women and men was simple and serviceable rather than rich and showy. But even then, among plain people, such a monstrosity as the hoop skirt was not entirely unknown. Elderly women used sunbonnets in summer and bright-colored shawls in the cool seasons. The wooden and the untanned cowhide shoes, mentioned before, were superior for warmth but were used only at home. Girls in those days used no artificial coloring on cheeks or lips, wore simpler and more serviceable headgear and shorter stockings and longer skirts than girls of today, but they did like some glitter and color. Women have always been thus. So they wore necklaces of colored glass beads. Perhaps Eve herself accepted that proffered apple, since so much regretted, partly because of its beautiful color.

Country sports were few, and farmer youth did not need them for exercise. Hunting was practiced to some extent; for skiing the hills were not steep enough or were too small and abrupt, and baseball had not then developed much.

The winter weather in the seventies, as the writer re-

members it, was sometimes extremely severe. Blizzards would blow for a day or two and immense snowdrifts would pile up between house and barn, so that it became exceedingly difficult to make a passageway from one to the other. On some days the cattle could not be turned out and buckets of water had to be carried to them. The plowed fields were scraped by the fierce wind until the snowdrifts looked almost black. Many homesteads were then poorly protected against storms; the cottonwoods and willows, the usual trees planted for windbreaks, had not yet attained a sufficient growth. To add to the hardship of doing the chores, the hay, being stacked outdoors, had to be cut with a hay knife and carried into the stables by the armful. Hogs were usually butchered on the farm and hauled to market in a frozen condition.

Two of the most interesting occasions of the year for the young people were the Fourth of July and the coming of a circus to town. The circus always had something agreeably outlandish about it, with its wild animals and its painted clowns. The Fourth was sometimes celebrated in the country near a store or the local post office. The writer recalls vividly a country celebration to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, not because there was so much to it but because there was so little. No speech-making, no band, and no firing of guns — only the common firecrackers. But there was a parade — a short line of farmers preceded by a man playing an accordion.

There would naturally be a few odd types of character in a community two or three miles wide and six or seven miles long. One was a retired parochial teacher, small of stature and well bewhiskered, who lived on a small farm with his none-too-patiently-enduring wife. He frequently complained to some neighbor friend of having been

swindled by a cattle buyer — of his own nationality, too; and no doubt he sometimes complained to her of other things he had to endure. It was rumored that when both were a little heated she would dash a pan of cold water over him. As to what his reaction was, if any, rumor has kept silent. But it was reported that when in his reading he found passages that especially impressed him he would write on the margin “carefully noted by K. E.” (his initials).

Another man, also a retired schoolmaster and since then a good deal of an idler, would sometimes accept a job as a barn painter. But he painted more than had been bargained for. When he had finished his task his entire front was a mass of red; no Indian could have looked so frightfully colored. He was literally “colorful” — to use a recent word.

Exceptions, unless too numerous, tend to fortify the rule. The rule in this case would be that the people of whose life some account has been given here were in general industrious, capable, and of wholesome instincts. As a rule they maintained with one another friendly relations. A few of them came to be large landowners. One man owned sixteen forties and a few owned half that much, the tillable part of which some of them took care of with their own family help. Yet others, through bad luck or faulty management, lost their farms and then moved in “prairie schooners”, driving their cattle before them, to points farther west.

In the course of time the scenic aspect of most parts of this settlement has been somewhat modified. The woods have receded, giving place to broader fields, and new buildings have been erected. Every homestead is now sheltered from the winter storms by a grove of planted trees, and wire fences protect the growing grain from herds of sleek

cattle, watered at tanks filled by windmills or by engines, where running water is not available.

On a sunny, windy day in summer, the writer, when a boy, liked to walk up to a point on a hill from which he could see in the distance, across a valley with a stream in it, a ripening field of grain sloping towards him. What pleased him especially in this view was the undulating wind movement in the grain, as if a goddess, attended by a host of nymphs, was flitting swiftly across the field but so lightly that the yielding grain wafted back as soon as their nimble feet were lifted.

For forty-odd years he has not been on that particular spot, but the undulating movement in the grain (if grain is still grown there) no doubt yet goes on. The crops may be different, as well as those who raise them. The early settlers are gone to the Great Beyond and their descendants are widely scattered. But the gently sloping hill, the valley below, and the field beyond are much the same. Materially considered, nature is the more enduring; yet, of course, it is the spirit of man that gives life its significance.

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NOTES ON THE NAVIGATION OF IOWA RIVERS¹

In the early days most of the Mississippi River tributaries were used by trappers, traders, frontier merchants, and farmers, to transport furs, grain, vegetables, and pork to markets at St. Louis and New Orleans. Canoes, crude rafts, keelboats (pushed upstream with long poles), and flatboats carried the cargoes to downstream markets and returned with stoves, nails, salt, groceries, gunpowder, whisky, and other manufactured articles.

As early as 1800 the Northwest Fur Company had established a fur-trading post at Redwood (present site of Des Moines), two hundred miles upstream from the mouth of the Des Moines River. From this post, Jean Baptiste Faribault made annual trips to the Mississippi with large canoe-loads of furs and pelts from 1800-1803. On the Iowa River enterprising traders poled keelboats as far up as Napoleon (south of Iowa City) at which point Indians

¹ The historical data herein presented were collected by the writer while in the employ of the United States Engineer Office at Rock Island as a part of information used in connection with the work of that office. Permission was received to utilize the original notes for preparation of this paper after they had served their official purpose for the office. The article was written on the writer's own time and is based on a survey of historical materials available in the various publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa, county histories, guidebooks, some newspapers, Territorial, State, and Federal memorials, resolutions, acts, and surveys, and a few interviews. No effort was made to locate records of steamboat companies, log books, and the correspondence of river men and of shippers and buyers. William J. Petersen's *Iowa—The Rivers of Her Valleys* has appeared since this study was made.

As considerable information has already been presented on Des Moines and Cedar River traffic in Tacitus Hussey's *History of Steamboating on the Des Moines River, from 1837 to 1862*, in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 323-382, and in Russell C. Grahame's *Voyages of the Black Hawk* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. IX, pp. 157-169, navigation on these streams is only briefly discussed here.

gathered to sell furs and to buy necessary supplies. Colonel George Davenport, an Indian trader, who built his home near Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, sent canoes up the Iowa and Cedar rivers in search of furs in the 1830's. Prior to 1859 keelboats had been pushed to Keosauqua and Des Moines on the Des Moines River, and small keelboats and mackinaw boats had reached Brighton on the Skunk River, Maquoketa on the Maquoketa River, and Elkader on the Turkey River.² Several local entrepreneurs built small flatboats at Westport and Ivanhoe on the Cedar River and engaged in trading groceries and manufactured articles for wheat, pork, and corn.³

² H. H. Sibley's *Memoir of Jean Baptiste Faribault in Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. III, pp.168-179; John C. Hartman's *History of Black Hawk County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 376; Johnson Brigham's *History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 5; Jacob Van der Zee's *The Roads and Highways of Territorial Iowa* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. III, pp. 195-197; *History of Johnson County, Iowa* (1883), p. 586; *Cedar Rapids Gazette* (Souvenir, 1889); F. M. Irish's *History of Johnson County, Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. VI, p. 197; *History of Linn County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, 1878), p. 492.

³ L. A. Brewer and B. L. Wick's *History of Linn County, Iowa*, p. 425. As early as 1839 Federal action was taken to secure the improvement of the Cedar River and to connect it by canal with the Mississippi. Section 2 of an act of Congress of March 3, 1839, empowered the Secretary of War "to cause a survey of Red Cedar river, within the said Territory, and an estimate to be made, with a view to the improvement of the navigation thereof above the town of Moscow, and the connection of the said navigation with the river Mississippi by a canal, extending from the vicinity of said town to some suitable point in or near the town of Bloomington; and to defray the expense of said survey and estimate, the sum of fifteen hundred dollars be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated." Jacob Van der Zee, in his article *The Roads and Highways of Territorial Iowa*, pp. 196, 197, states that the appropriation for a canal survey was made in answer to a petition from the Bloomington and Cedar River Canal Company and that the enterprise was never completed despite the agitation of Muscatine citizens for river improvements.

Interest by the early Territorial and State legislatures of Iowa in protecting the navigable status of such Iowa streams as the Iowa, Cedar, Des Moines, Skunk, Maquoketa, Wapsipinicon, and others is indicated by the

Traders along the smaller streams often constructed flatboats and keelboats during the winter months, and waited for the spring high water to float their cargoes to market. During the trading period when merchants accepted grain and meat in payment for dry goods, stoves, nails, hardware, etc., pork was bought from farmers at one dollar and a half to two dollars and a half per hundred pounds and corn and wheat at from ten to fifteen cents and from thirty-five to fifty-five cents per bushel. The rough-hewn boats that carried the produce to market were often sold for lumber or for the Mississippi River trade.⁴

Log rafting also played a small part in this early traffic. Along the Cedar River in Benton and Black Hawk counties red cedar trees were cut for lumber and the logs were formed into rafts at a point above the present site of Cedar Rapids and rafted to St. Louis. This lumber cutting was often engaged in by unscrupulous adventurers who invaded the Cedar River area before it was permanently settled.⁵

At Brighton, on the Skunk River, settlers had visions of the growth of a great shipping center when during 1843-1844 cattle were slaughtered and the meat shipped along with cargoes of potatoes, wheat, pork, and flour, on keelboats that had been hastily constructed along the stream. Dam obstructions and unfortunate losses of cargoes result-

numerous early laws and resolutions declaring the streams navigable and providing for chutes in dams for the passage of logs and boats and for proper draws in bridges. The reversal of this policy of treating streams as navigable may be seen in later laws when bridges are authorized without draws, and streams are declared to be non-navigable. This reversal of State policy occurs after the development of and the extension of railroads.

⁴ H. W. Lathrop's *Early Steamboating on the Iowa River* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XIII, p. 46.

⁵ *History of Black Hawk County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, 1878), p. 308; J. C. Hartman's *History of Black Hawk County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 376, 377.

ing from treacherous navigation conditions practically ended such traffic before 1850.⁶

In northeast Iowa, the firm of Thompson, Sage, and Davis constructed a mill at Elkader on the Turkey River in 1849. When the millowners were unable to ship their cargo of flour because of the absence of roads, they purchased a keelboat, pushed it upstream to the mill, and then floated their flour to Cassville and Dubuque. After the completion of a road to Clayton City, the flour was taken across country by wagon and shipping by river was abandoned.⁷

The rapid influx of settlers into Iowa during the late thirties and early forties resulted in the opening of new markets for manufactured articles. Enterprising steamboat captains and owners lost little time in attempting to reach the new settlements. The absence of roads and the difficulties connected with overland travel offered unusual opportunities for profit in the steamboat trade.

Probably the earliest cargo shipped by steam on the Des Moines River was on the steamboat *S. B. Science* in the fall of 1837. The cargo consisted of flour, meal, pork, groceries, and whisky, all of which were in demand by new settlers who needed supplies to carry them over to their first crop year. The *Revenue Cutter* and the *Des Moines Belle* entered the Des Moines traffic in April and May, 1844. Five years later the *Revenue Cutter* was reported to be the only boat in operation on the Des Moines when it made four trips to the upper river. On return trips to St. Louis the *Revenue Cutter* carried as much as sixty tons of freight.⁸

⁶ C. C. Heacock's *Local Reminiscences of the Early History of Brighton, Iowa*, pp. 30, 33.

⁷ See R. E. Price's *History of Clayton County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 446, 447.

⁸ Hussey's *History of Steamboating on the Des Moines River, from 1837 to 1862*, in the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. IV, pp. 328, 333, 339.

The decade preceding the Civil War saw the “boom period” of steamboat navigation on the Des Moines River. Forty steamboats entered the Des Moines River trade in the fifties as the establishment of permanent homes resulted in increased demands for such luxuries as curtains, dried fruits, stationery, and for staples such as shoes, hardware, stoves, sheet iron, soda, ale, glassware, soap, molasses, nails, coffee, flour, sugar, and dry goods. Corn, pork, and wheat often purchased for southern slaves continued to be typical downstream cargoes.

The high water year of 1858 was one of unusual activity on the Des Moines River. On the third of June three steamboats — the *Alice*, the *Clara Hine*, and the *Skipper* were reported tied up at the Des Moines wharves. By September 16, 1858, Des Moines had recorded the arrival of sixty steamboats. During May steamboat arrivals were so frequent that they “excited little remark”. In May 1858, Captain F. E. Beers startled settlers along the Upper Des Moines by piloting a sidewheeler steamboat, the *Rolling Wave* from Fort Dodge to Des Moines.⁹

The river season of 1859 was a busy one. The *Clara Hine*, the *Colonel Morgan*, the *Flora Temple*, the *Des Moines City*, the *Defiance*, and the *Charles Rodgers* were all in the Des Moines River trade. The *Charles Rodgers* and the *Des Moines Belle* made trips to Fort Dodge in May and June of 1859 with cargoes of lumber, tobacco, salt, and flour. The arrival of the *Charles Rodgers*, a small boat of fifty tons, at Fort Dodge stirred hopes in the hearts of the more optimistic of Fort Dodge citizens that millions were to be made on the river trade. Waterway enthusiasts de-

For a discussion of the improvement of the Des Moines River for navigation see Jacob A. Swisher's *The Des Moines River Improvement Project* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXXV, pp. 142-180.

⁹ *Muscatine Daily Journal*, September 16, 1858; *Fort Dodge Sentinel*, May 15, 1858; *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), May 26, 1858.

manded the immediate repeal of a law that declared the Des Moines River navigable only to Des Moines and urged that action be taken to secure an appropriation for cleaning the river of obstruction from Des Moines to Fort Dodge. The season of 1860 was so dry, however, that steamboats did not dare to venture to Fort Dodge even for a bonus, and citizens there abandoned the hope that the Des Moines River might be made navigable to Fort Dodge.

By 1861 most of the upper river steamboats had deserted the Des Moines River to transport soldiers and supplies on the Mississippi. The *Des Moines Belle*, the *Add Hine*, and the *Des Moines City*, all of which ran from the railway terminal at Ottumwa to upstream points, were the only remaining boats. The approach of railroads, the improvement of roads, and the demand for steamboats in southern waters made the business risky and unprofitable and brought such traffic to a close before the end of 1862.¹⁰

The arrival of the steamboat *Ripple* at Iowa City on June 20, 1841, opened such traffic on the Iowa River. On April 12, 1842, the steamer *Rock River* arrived at Iowa City and proceeded fifteen miles upstream with "100 merry-makers" aboard. These early attempts at steam

¹⁰ A. G. Leonard's Scrapbook (newspaper clippings) in the State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa; H. M. Pratt's *History of Fort Dodge and Webster County*, Vol. I, p. 229; G. D. R. Boyd's *Sketches of History and Incidents Connected with the Settlement of Wapello County, from 1843 to 1859, Inclusive*, in the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. VI, p. 130; *Fort Dodge Sentinel*, May 7, 1859. For accounts of steamboat navigation to Fort Dodge, notice of organization of a steamboat company for purchase of a steamboat to run to Fort Dodge, and articles advocating the improvement of the river between Des Moines and Fort Dodge, see *Fort Dodge Sentinel*, May 29, June 24, July 17, August 21, 28, 1858, April 7, 23, 1859; C. F. Davis' *The Voyage of the First Steamboat from Keokuk to Fort Dodge* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, pp. 141, 142; J. M. Dixon's *Centennial History of Polk County, Iowa*, pp. 11, 326; *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 14, 1882; and Hussey's *History of Steamboating on the Des Moines River, from 1837 to 1862*, in the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. IV, p. 365.

navigation were soon followed by the *Agatha* in 1844, a steamboat 119 feet long, 19 feet wide, 3-foot draught; the *Maid of Iowa*, 115 feet long, 18.4 feet wide; and the *Emma* all of which carried supplies to Iowa City merchants and took out wheat and pork.¹¹

On the lower Iowa River during the Mexican War, Joe Luckett of Todd Town organized a company for the operation of a barge line between St. Louis and Wapello. The boats were named in honor of Mexican War heroes. The *General Scott*, the *General Taylor*, and the *General Wadsworth* were loaded with pork and grain and taken to St. Louis where they were reloaded with goods for Wapello merchants and towed back to the mouth of the Iowa River by steamboat. The barges were then "poled" up the Iowa River. This barge line was in successful operation for several years.

When the stage of water permitted, other steamboats continued to arrive at Iowa City from 1848-1851. The *Piasa*, the *Herald*, the *Magnet*, and the *St. Croix* docked at Iowa City during this three-year period. The *Daniel Hillman*, the *Archer*, and the *Uncle Toby* shipped freight from St. Louis and Wapello to Iowa City during the 1851 high water. From 1851 through 1853, steamboats arrived frequently at the foot of "Gawky Street" in Wapello.¹²

In 1858 the ferryboat *Muscatine* carried fence rails and lumber for building to Wapello. Three years later, the

¹¹ *Iowa City Standard*, June 24, 1841; Lathrop's *Steamboating on the Iowa River* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XIII, pp. 44, 45; Louis Pelzer's *Iowa City: A Miniature Frontier of the Forties* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXIX, p. 18; *Iowa Capitol Reporter* (Iowa City), March 9, 1844.

¹² Arthur Springer's *History of Louisa County*, Vol. I, pp. 210-214; *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), July 12, 1851; Daniel S. Curtiss's *Western Portraiture and Emigrant's Guide, A Description of Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa* (New York, 1852), p. 187; Bruce E. Mahan's *Bridging the Cedar* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. IV, pp. 308, 309.

steamers *Orion*, *Blackhawk*, and *Eureka* docked occasionally at Wapello. The *General Halleck*, the *Forest Queen*, and the *Catawa* were listed as Wapello arrivals during 1862. By the close of the Civil War the only remaining Iowa River steamboats in operation were the *Turtle*, engaged in the lumber trade, the *Iowa City*, the *Swallow*, the *Lily*, the *Gussy Girdon*, the *Try Us*, and the *Enterprise*. The *Enterprise*, a pleasure craft, operated on the upper Iowa until September 13, 1882, when it was destroyed by fire.¹³

From 1844 to 1853 a few attempts to navigate the Cedar River were made by steamboat captains eager to ship surplus produce and to sell manufactured articles to farmers situated along the banks. In 1844 the *Maid of Iowa* ascended the Cedar as far as Washington Ferry. Five years later the steamboat *Hawkeye* was reported to have arrived in Cedar Rapids. The *Uncle Toby*, a 109-ton boat, made its way through the over-hanging willows and brush to Cedar Rapids in 1853.¹⁴

Scheduled steamboat trips, however, were not made on the Cedar until 1858 when the *Cedar Rapids*, a single-deck sternwheeler 155 feet long by 26 feet wide and equipped with four engines, made twelve trips from Cedar Rapids to St. Louis. The *Cedar Rapids* towed lumber, carried passengers, and pulled barges loaded with oats, wheat, corn, and flour from Cedar Rapids and other Cedar River settlements to St. Louis.¹⁵

¹³ Springer's *History of Louisa County*, Vol. I, pp. 210-214; *Muscatine Daily Journal*, July 20, 1858; *Iowa City Daily Republican*, July 14, 1881; *History of Johnson County, Iowa* (1883), p. 673.

¹⁴ *Iowa Capitol Reporter* (Iowa City), October 22, 1842; *Bloomington Herald*, August 2, 1844; *Louisa County Times*, April 29, 1851; L. A. Brewer and B. L. Wick's, *History of Linn County, Iowa*, pp. 426-430.

¹⁵ *The Weekly State Reporter* (Iowa City), September 29, 1858; Brewer and Wick's *History of Linn County*, pp. 426-428; *Muscatine Daily Journal*, July 23, 1858; *Vinton Eagle*, May 8, 1858.

The *Export*, later rechristened the *Black Hawk*, ran regularly between Cedar Rapids and Waterloo carrying freight and passengers in the fall of 1858 and the summer of 1859. Settlers came from great distances to La Porte, Vinton, and other Cedar River towns to get hardware, salt, drugs, white lead, flour, and other articles. Downstream cargoes of the *Black Hawk* usually consisted of two or three thousand bushels of grain and other produce such as eggs, vegetables, butter, and furs. During the season of 1859 the *Black Hawk* traveled 6000 or 7000 miles, making twenty-four round trips between Cedar Rapids and Waterloo and netting \$2000 profit.¹⁶

The only remaining boats in active service between Cedar Rapids and Vinton in 1863 were the *Surprise*, a small freight steamer, and the *Nettie Munn*, a stern-wheeler 70 feet long and 12 feet wide. The *Carrie Wallace*, a small sternwheeler steamboat, built about 1870, was used for Sunday school excursions, picnics, and in the wool and lime trade. The *Nettie Munn* blew up at Kelsey's Landing in 1867 and the *Carrie Wallace* was wrecked by a boiler explosion at Brock's Landing in 1876. Other boats that operated on the Cedar River were the *Kitty Clyde*, the *Rose*, the *Climax*, a sidewheeler, the *General Weaver*, and the *Lady Franklin*.¹⁷

A few attempts to navigate some of the smaller Iowa streams by steamboat were enough to convince even the

¹⁶ Grahame's *Voyages of the Black Hawk* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. IX, pp. 157-168; Charles A. Laurance's *Pioneer Days in Cedar Rapids, 1860-1880*, pp. 116, 117; Brewer and Wick's *History of Linn County*, p. 430.

¹⁷ Price's *History of Clayton County*, Vol. 1, p. 96; Heacock's *Local Reminiscences of the Early History of Brighton, Iowa*, p. 28; Albert M. Lea's *Notes on Wisconsin Territory with a Map*, pp. 27, 32, 33; Frank Barnes's *Early Steamboating on the Maquoketa River* in J. W. Ellis's *History of Jackson County*, Vol. I, p. 586; *Muscatine Daily Journal*, May 17, 1862; A. T. Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Iowa* (1875), p. 361; Charles Edward Russell's *A-Rafting on the Mississippi*, pp. 22, 23.

most optimistic that such traffic was impracticable. In June of 1854 a small steamboat was run down the Turkey to the dam at Hastings and back to Elkader. Sand bars and the low stage of water so interfered with the boat's progress that the craft was removed to Clayton and used as a ferryboat. Along the Skunk, local farmers claimed that steamboats occasionally ascended that stream to the vicinity of Mt. Pleasant during high water but that no regular schedule was ever followed. An attempt to bring the *Maquoketa City* from Pittsburgh up the Maquoketa River to Maquoketa failed in 1860. The boat was taken to within walking distance of Maquoketa but at that point it was necessary to take it back to the Mississippi. In 1862 a steamboat called the *Enterprise* ran up the Maquoketa River on a tri-weekly basis. The *Echo*, the *Maquoketa Belle*, and a number of small barges that operated on the Maquoketa River during the Civil War seem to have been the only serious attempts to navigate this shallow stream.¹⁸

It may be concluded that attempts were made to navigate nearly all of the Mississippi tributaries of eastern Iowa by steam prior to the establishment of adequate roads. However, most of the successful attempts at steam navigation (with possibly the exception of the Des Moines, Iowa, and Cedar rivers) were confined to such high water years as 1844, 1851, and 1858, when several major floods occurred on most of the middlewestern streams. Bar and dam obstructions, low water, the arrival of railroads, and the improvement of roads ended dreams of canals and of steam navigation for many Iowa cities and towns before the end of the Civil War.

GUSTAV E. LARSON

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SOME PUBLICATIONS

Fifty Years on the Nebraska Frontier. By Charles Arthur Hawley. Omaha: Presbyterian Theological Seminary. 1941. Pp. 152. Plates. The sub-title of this volume is *The History of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Omaha* and the volume was written in honor of the semi-centennial of that institution. There is, however, much material on the work of the Presbyterian Church in Iowa and Nebraska and on the history of the region around Council Bluffs and Omaha. Appendices in the back of the book include a bibliography, lists of graduates who have served as missionaries, lists of members of the faculty and board of trustees, and some correspondence relative to gifts of Mrs. Mary C. Thaw and other donors to the Seminary.

The Great Demobilization and Other Essays. By Frederic Logan Paxson. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1941. Pp. 206. Plate. This attractive volume is a collection of the papers and addresses of Frederic L. Paxson and was published by some of his students to express their admiration for the famous historian and teacher. The collection includes the following: "The Great Demobilization" (1938), "A Generation of the Frontier Hypothesis" (1932), "The Cow Country" (1916), "The Pacific Railroads and the Disappearance of the Frontier" (1907), "The Admission of the 'Omnibus' States" (1911), "The Rise of Sport" (1917), "The Agricultural Surplus: A Problem in History" (1931), and "The New Frontier and the Old American Habit" (1935). There is also a bibliography of the writings of Dr. Paxson and a list of the historical writings of his students, compiled by Dr. Marian Silvers and Dr. Berlin B. Chapman. The introduction is by Bayrd Still.

Wisconsin A Guide to the Badger State. By the Writer's Program of the Work Projects Administration of Wisconsin. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1941. Pp. 651. Plates and

maps. This Wisconsin guide is one of *The American Guide Series*. It was sponsored by the Wisconsin Library Association and the foreword is by the late Dr. Joseph Schafer, who was the Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The preface is by John J. Lyons, State Supervisor. The Wisconsin Guide Book is similar to others in the series. In addition to an introduction the volume is in four parts. The first includes eighteen essays or articles on various phases of life, such as "Indians", "History of Agriculture", and "Literature". Part two contains descriptive material on nine cities — Green Bay, Kenosha, La Crosse, Madison, Milwaukee, Oshkosh, Racine, Sheboygan, and Superior. Part three, entitled "Road Ahead", is made up of a series of twenty-four tours over the State. Part four includes the chronology, bibliography, census figures for 1940, and the index.

The Voyageur's Highway Minnesota's Border Lake Land. By Grace Lee Nute. St. Paul: The Minnesota Historical Society. 1941. Pp. 113. Plates and maps. In his foreword, Arthur J. Larsen, the Superintendent of the Society, explains that this volume was made possible by the coöperation of a number of persons — Frank Brooks Hubachek, a Chicago lawyer who had become interested in the border-lakes country, Dr. Nute, the author, whose study of the careers of Radisson and Des Groseilliers had provided a foundation for this work, and an anonymous member of the Society whose generosity made the publication possible. Proceeds from the sales of this publication will go into a revolving publication fund. The volume is attractively printed and bound and is decorated by clever vignettes which, with the cover design, are the work of Jane McCarthy. The book tells the story of the land along Lake Superior and the chain of lakes which extend between that lake and Rainy Lake. The book is divided into a dozen chapters — "The North Country", "Glimpses of the Past", "Boundary Routes and Disputes", "Famous Men of the Border", "Fur Trading Companies", "Voyageurs", "Border Indians", "An Indian Captive", "Physical Features from Finland and Jugoslavia", "Logging Days", and "Recent History"— and

is provided with a chronology, bibliography, and index. Both in its illustrations and its style this is an unusually attractive historical book, by a trained historian.

American Issues. Edited by Willard Thorp, Merle Curti, and Carlos Baker. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1941. Pp.: Vol. I, 1035; Vol. II, 893. The first volume includes a series of writings on social problems, classified under various headings such as: "The Other World or This, 1630-1790", "The Struggle for Freedom, 1630-1776", "Democracy and Aristocracy, 1783-1840", "Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism, 1825-1860", "The Industrial Revolution, 1791-1801", "The Southern Cause, 1800-1860", "The Passing of the Frontier, 1850-1890", "The Big Money, 1920-1929". Under twenty-two such headings the editors have collected excerpts from the writings or speeches of representative men and women, including Jonathan Edwards, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, Alexis de Tocqueville, Timothy Flint, Edward Everett, Carl Schurz, Orestes A. Brownson, Peter Cartwright, Henry David Thoreau, Jefferson Davis, Abraham Lincoln, Frederick J. Turner, Louis Adamic, Mary Baker G. Eddy, George Ade, Woodrow Wilson, Finley Peter Dunne, Jane Addams, Henry Ford, Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Herbert C. Hoover, and F. D. Roosevelt. In the list are two Iowans, James Baird Weaver and George D. Herron. Volume II presents "The Literary Record", with excerpts from American writers, beginning with John Smith of Virginia and ending with R. P. Blackmur. The list includes such writers as Philip Freneau, James Fenimore Cooper, Edgar Allan Poe, Herman Melville, John G. Whittier, Emily Dickinson, Samuel L. Clemens, Hamlin Garland, Edgar Lee Masters, Archibald MacLeish, and Eugene O'Neill.

The issues of *The American Political Science Review* for April and June contain two installments of an article on *Democratic Planning in Agriculture*, by John D. Lewis.

The American Association for State and Local History has

begun the publication of a bi-monthly pamphlet called *The State and Local History News*. The first number appeared in July, 1941.

Writings on American History 1936, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin and Dorothy M. Louraine, has been recently published as Volume II of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1936.

The June number of the *Bulletin of The New York Public Library* includes an article on *American Magazines, 1741-1941*, by Frederick Lewis Allen, William L. Chenery, and Fulton Oursler, and a list of *Women in the Making of America*.

Japan's First Embassy to the United States, 1860, by Allan B. Cole; and *Peter John De Smet: The Years of Preparation, 1801-1837*, by W. J. Davis, are the two articles in *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* for April.

The January-June number of *Glimpses of the Past*, published by the Missouri Historical Society, contains the *Correspondence of Robert C. Campbell, 1834-1845*. Campbell was a fur trader along the Missouri River with headquarters at St. Louis.

The Iron Industry of Missouri, by Arthur B. Cozzens; *The School Law of 1853, Its Origin and Authors*, by Howard I. McKee; and *Quality Hill — A Study in Heredity*, by Pierre R. Porter, are three articles in the July issue of *The Missouri Historical Review*.

The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society for July includes *The Diary of the Wilderness Road in the Year 1816*, kept by James Walker, and a biographical sketch of Col. Theodore O'Hara, author of "The Bivouac of the Dead", by Major Sidney Herbert.

Historical Research at the State Museum, by Edgar C. McMechen; *The Jewish Colony at Cotopaxi*, by Dorothy Roberts; *Minerals Named for Colorado Places*, by Richard M. Pearl; and an additional installment of *Place Names in Colorado* are articles in *The Colorado Magazine* for July.

The first number of Volume XXV of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science* is *North Carolina Boundary Disputes Involving Her Southern Line*, by Marvin Lucian Skaggs.

A ninth volume in the series, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, has just been published. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter, this volume contains papers relating to the Territory of Orleans for the years 1803–1812. A comprehensive index is included.

The Wisconsin Oneida Wake, by Robert Ritzenthaler; *Caches of Flint Disks in Wisconsin*, by H. Holmes Ellis; *The Erin Cache*, by Marion E. Martin; *The Blue Springs*, by Joseph Lucius; and *Some Indian Myths about Iron*, by Walter Bubbert, are short articles in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for June.

Observations Concerning the Conservation of Monuments in Europe and America, by Hans Huth, has been published by the National Park Service. This deals largely with the danger to monuments and museums from modern war and the preparations which should be made to protect them.

Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, has recently issued the first volume in a series designated as *The Archives of Purdue*. This is *The Trustees and the Officers of Purdue University 1865–1940*, prepared by Thomas R. Johnston and Helen Hand. The preface to the series is by Edward C. Elliott.

Mid-America for July contains the following four articles: *The French of Old Missouri (1804–1821): A Study in Assimilation*, by Harvey Wish; *The End of a Jesuit Library*, by W. Kane; *L'Enfance et la Jeunesse de Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville*, by Guy Frégault; and *The "De Soto Map"*, by Barbara Boston.

The *Oregon Historical Quarterly* for June includes the following articles: *History of Christian College at Monmouth*, by J. F. Santee; *Stage Annals of Early Oregon from 1846 to 1875*, by Alice Henson Ernst; *Local Road Legislation in Early Oregon*, by Jonas A. Jonasson; and *Oregon's Historical Esperanto — the Chinook Jargon*, by Chester Anders Fee.

Rutgers University Press has recently issued *Ploughs and Politics Charles Read of New Jersey And His Notes on Agriculture 1715-1774*, by Carl Raymond Woodward. This volume presents an interesting picture of agricultural practices before the Revolution. It is illustrated and has a critical bibliography, a glossary, and an index.

The American Theme in Continental European Literatures, by Carl Wittke; *H. Niles, The Man and the Editor*, by Norval Neil Luxon; *Law and Order in Early Colorado Mining Camps*, by Lynn I. Perrigo; and *Fort Sumter Again*, by David Rankin Barbee and Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., make up the June number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

Abraham Lincoln and the Newspaper Press During the Civil War, by John Paul Jones, Jr.; *The French Craze of '93 and the American Press*, by William F. Keller; *His (Benjamin Franklin) Mother's Kindred*, Pt. III, by Ada Harriet Baldwin; *Vocational Education*, by William H. Clark; and *A Review of California Banking*, by J. R. Shaw, are some of the articles in *Americana* for July.

Turtle River State Park, by Russell Reid; *Arikara and Cheyenne Earth Lodge Sites in North and South Dakota*, by Wm. Duncan Strong; *Charles E. Shafer—Hunter, Indian Trader, and Rancher*; *Dr. Melvin Randolph Gilmore*, by George F. Will; and *Incidents in the Life of a Pioneer*, by Mrs. Kate Eldridge Glaspell, are articles and papers in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for April.

Ohio, Prize of the Revolution, by Kenneth W. McKinley, is published in the May number of *Museum Echoes*, a publication of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The June number contains *The Anthony Wayne Memorial Association*, by M. M. Quaife, and *The James Galloway Log Cabin Home*, by Edwin Galloway. A list of members takes up most of the space in the issue for July-August.

The June number of *Minnesota History* contains the following articles and papers: *The Hutchinson Family in the Story of*

American Music, by Philip D. Jordan; *Frank B. Mayer and the Treaties of 1851*, by Bertha L. Heilbron; *Hamlin Garland, Occasional Minnesotan*, by John T. Flanagan; and *New Light on the Northhampton Colony*, by Charles W. Nichols. *Notes and Documents* contains *Jane Grey Swisshelm and C. A. Lounsberry*, by Julius E. Haycraft.

The McGraw-Hill Book Company has recently issued an *Economic History of the United States*, by Chester W. Wright. It is presented in four parts — “The Colonial Period”; “The Period of Wars and Economic Transition” (1764–1815); “Westward Expansion — and the Rise of National Economy, 1816–1860”; and “The End of the Westward Movement — and the Growth of Capitalistic Industry.” A bibliography and an index are also provided.

Western Opposition to the Agricultural College Act, by Paul Wallace Gates; *The Old Brookville–Brownstown Road*, by George E. Amick; *The James Dunn Family in Indiana Education*, by Ruth P. Sutherland; *The Southwest Territory to the Aid of the Northwest Territory, 1791*, by Samuel C. Williams; and *An Old Workbook on Cabinetmaking*, belonging to William H. Johnson, with an introduction by Agnes McCulloch Hanna, are articles and documents in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for June.

The ‘Ecology’ of Middle-western Historians, by John D. Hicks; *Van Buren McCollum*, by the late Joseph Schafer; *Waukesha: ‘The Saratoga of the West’*, by Lillian Krueger; *Daniel Greysolon Du Lhut: Coureur de Bois*, by Isura Andrus-Juneau; *Milwaukee: A City of Good Foods*, by Louise W. Mears; *The Rainbow in the West*, by Belle Cushman Bohn; and *Lake Mills: A Dairying Pioneer*, by Wilbur Stiles, are the articles in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June. A fifth installment of the *Letters of Charles Richard Van Hise* is included.

Articles and papers in the June number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* include the following: *The Illinois State Historical Society — A Statement of Policy*; *The Painted Record of a Community Experiment* — Olaf Krans and his Pic-

tures of the Bishop Hill Colony, by Margaret E. Jacobson; *Jacob Strawn and John T. Alexander — Central Illinois Stockmen*, by Clarence P. McClelland; *Was Abraham Lincoln Really a Spiritualist?*, by Jay Monaghan; and *An Icarian in Nauvoo*, by Sherman B. Barnes. Under *Historical Notes*, Gustav E. Larson contributes *More Notes on Rock River Navigation* and Lillian Krueger *Mary Todd Lincoln Summers in Wisconsin*.

The July–September issue of *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* contains, in addition to the report of the Society at the annual business session held on April 4th, the following papers and articles: *The Relative Functions of State and Local Historical Societies: The Local Viewpoint*, by Eugene D. Rigney; *The Great Man in History*, by Paul F. Bloomhardt; *The Beginnings of Higher Education in the Northwest Territory*, by Thomas N. Hoover; *The Kirtland Phase of Mormonism*, by W. J. McNeff; *The Study of History — a Hindrance or a Help in the Perfecting of International Organization*, by K. C. Leebrick; and *The Accomplishments and Future Program of the Ohio Historical Records Survey Project*, by James H. Rodabaugh.

The Kansas Historical Quarterly for February contains the following articles and papers: *First Newspapers in Kansas Counties 1854–1864*, by G. Raymond Gaeddert, and *The Fourth of July in Early Kansas 1854–1857*, by Cora Dolbee. The number also contains a report of the annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, with the address of the president, *Beginnings of the Kansas Judiciary*, by T. M. Lillard. *Letters of Hugh M. Moore, 1856–1860*; a continuation of *First Newspapers in Kansas Counties 1865–1871*, by G. Raymond Gaeddert; *Walt Whitman in Kansas*, by Robert R. Hubach; and *Development of Common and Employers' Liability Law in Kansas*, by Domenico Gagliardo, are the articles in the May number.

The Desert Threat in the Southern Great Plains; *The Historical Implications of Soil Erosion*, by Alfred B. Sears; *Wartime Problems of English Agriculture*, by I. D. Blair; *Early Cotton Regulation in the Lower Mississippi Valley*, by W. B. Hamilton; *The*

Land-Grant College: A Democratic Adaptation, by Earle D. Ross; *A Seventeenth Century "Ever-Normal Granary"*; *The Alhóndiga of Colonial Mexico City*, by Chester L. Guthrie; *Finland's Agrarian Structure and Overseas Migration*, by John Ilmari Kolehmainen; and *The Climatic Theory of the Plantation*, by Edgar T. Thompson, are the articles in the January issue of *Agricultural History*. The April issue contains the following articles: *Boys' and Girls' Agricultural Clubs*, by A. B. Graham; *Action Programs in Education*, by J. Phil Campbell; *World War Food Controls and Archival Sources for Their Study*, by Almon R. Wright; *Notes on the Early History of Horticulture in Oregon*, by W. P. Duruz; *Timothy Pickering on Beef Cattle, Dairying, and Cider*, by Nannie M. Tilley; and *The Effects of Slavery upon Nonslaveholders in the Ante Bellum South*, by Robert R. Russel. *The Home Life of a Plantation Statesman, John Sharp Williams*, by George C. Osborn; *The Decline of the Wisconsin Society of Equity*, by Theodore Saloutos; and *Rural-Urban Migration*, by Conrad Taeuber, are the three articles in the number for July.

IOWANA

The city of Cedar Falls has recently issued a booklet entitled *Your City Government*. Roger Leavitt contributed a short history of the city.

W. H. Malin is the author of a pamphlet recently published under the title *Early Days in Grand View, Iowa*. This is a reminiscent account of life in Tama county.

The Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts has reprinted an article on *Graduate Study at the Iowa State College: An Historical Summary*, by Earle D. Ross.

The *Sioux Center News* for July 31, 1941, includes an historical supplement containing material on the history of Sioux Center and Sioux County, compiled by Anthony Te Paske.

The Bulletin of the Iowa and Illinois Central District Medical Association for March contains part two of *Early Medical History of Dubuque County*, by Henry G. Langworthy, M. D.

The *Ringgold County Bulletin* (Mount Ayr) issued an historical edition in August, 1941, with material on the history of the county, the Ringgold County Historical Society, and early day events.

Louis Bernard Schmidt of the Iowa State College of Agriculture has recently issued a revised edition of his *Topical Studies and References on the History of American Agriculture*.

The *Philological Quarterly* for July contains a biographical sketch of Hardin Craig, by Rudolf Kirk. This number of the *Quarterly* is dedicated to Mr. Craig, who was its founder.

E. S. Lynch is the author of *Analysis of Accounting Practice in Railroad Abandonments in Iowa From 1926 to 1940*, published as Bulletin 149 of the Iowa State College Engineering Experiment Station, Ames, Iowa.

Judicial Review of Tax Assessments in Iowa, by Robert B. Throckmorton; and *Treatment of Violence in Labor Disputes by the National Labor Relations Board*, by Walter Daykin, are two articles in the *Iowa Law Review* for May, 1941.

Some Effects of the 1940 Armistice Day Storm on Iowa's Wildlife, by Thomas G. Scott and Thomas S. Baskett, and *Gadwall and Franklin's Gull Nesting in Iowa*, by Jessop B. Low, are two of the articles in *Iowa Bird Life* for June.

Farm Taxes and the Cost of Public Services in Relation to Land Resources in Ringgold County, Iowa, by J. Lloyd Spaulding, appears as Research Bulletin 288 in the series published by the Agricultural Experiment Station of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

The Pioneer Bench and Bar of The Twelfth Judicial District of Iowa, by Remley J. Glass; *Under Two Flags for the Church*, by the Reverend R. E. Harvey; and *Western Style of Living*, by Bishop Thomas A. Morris, are the three articles in *The Annals of Iowa* for July. There is also a report on the Iowa Conference on Local History held at Des Moines on May 9, 1941.

Winneshie County Physicians, by J. J. Daly, M. D., is one of

the articles in *The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society* for June. *Professional Ethics in 1852*, by Ferdinand J. Smith, M. D., appears in the number for July; and *The Medical History of Palo Alto County*, by Clara Antoinette Rasmussen, is published in the issues for August and September.

The WPA Historical Records Survey Program has recently issued *A Check List of Iowa Imprints 1838-1860*, a supplement to those recorded by Alexander Moffit in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS* for January, 1938. This compilation was prepared by WPA workers under the direction of Douglas C. McMurtrie, National Editor of the American Imprints Inventory, and Geraldine Beard, Chief Editor. The list includes holdings of Iowa imprints in many eastern libraries not included in the survey made by Mr. Moffit.

A new *Monroe County History*, compiled and written by the Iowa Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Iowa, has recently been published as a pamphlet under the sponsorship of the county superintendent of schools of Monroe County. In addition to an introduction the book includes chapters on: "The Natural Background", "End of Indian Occupation", "The White Man's New Domain", "Beginnings of County and City Development", "When the Mormons Voted", "Claim Club Troubles", "Vanished Villages — and Towns That Remain", "The Civil War", "Coal Mining", "The Early Twentieth Century", and "Monroe County 1917-1940".

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The first homesteader in O'Brien County was John W. Kelly, by O. H. Montzheimer, in the *O'Brien County (Primghar) Bell*, March 26, 1941.

Old St. Paul's, first Catholic church in Burlington, was erected in 1840, in the *Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette*, May 9, 1941.

Edward Ryan, Palo Alto County's last Civil War veteran, served in Confederate army, in the *Des Moines Register*, May 11, 1941.

Martin Birrer, 98, lived in Johnson County since 1845, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, May 11, 1941.

Daniel Brown, first white settler in Harrison County, came to Calhoun in 1847, in the *Missouri Valley Times*, May 12, 1941.

Harrison County relics are housed in log cabin museum, in the *Missouri Valley Times*, May 12, 1941.

Mr. and Mrs. Samuel B. Cooper celebrate their sixty-seventh wedding anniversary, in the *Albia News*, May 12, 1941.

Naming of Sabula, in the *Webster City Freeman-Journal*, May 12, 1941.

Sketch of the life of District Judge John E. Purcell, in the *Des Moines Tribune* and the *Davenport Democrat*, May 12, 1941.

Sixtieth wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. William F. Knittel, in the *Sheldon Sun*, May 14, 1941.

Mr. and Mrs. Jasper Kirkendall observe sixty-ninth wedding anniversary, in the *Ogden Reporter*, May 15, 1941.

Some early historical events of New Virginia community, in the *New Virginia Virginian*, May 15, 1941.

Early Fayette County history, by T. D. Peterman, in the *Arlington News*, May 15, 22, 29, June 12, 26, July 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, 1941.

Some deserted graves of war veterans, in the *Davenport Democrat*, May 18, 1941.

Reunion of Co. B, 50th Infantry, Iowa National Guard, in the *Davenport Democrat*, May 18, 1941.

How Promise City was named, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 19, 1941.

Log cabin museum at Smithland, Iowa, in the *Des Moines Register*, May 19, 1941.

Death of Col. Thomas F. Cooke, one-time member of Iowa National Guard, in the *Algona Advance*, May 20, 1941.

Mr. and Mrs. David T. Campbell celebrate sixtieth wedding anniversary, in the *Missouri Valley Times*, May 21, 1941.

Mrs. Mary Robinson of Panora has lived in Guthrie County eighty-six years, in the *Guthrie County (Panora) Vedette*, May 22, 1941.

Historical papers in the Immanuel Reformed Church of Belmond reveal history of church, in the *Belmond Independent*, May 22, 1941.

North Liberty Methodist Church observes 100th birthday, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, May 24, 1941.

Mrs. Andrew Purcell, widow of Indian fighter in 1862, gets pension, in the *Des Moines Register*, May 25, 1941.

Death of Frank I. Coykendall, former Senator, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel*, May 26, and the *Des Moines Register*, May 27, 1941.

Dr. E. A. Moore, former Representative, was active in promoting medical legislation, in the *Des Moines Register*, May 26, 1941.

Marker for Richard J. Scarrem, Revolutionary soldier, is dedicated, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, May 27, the *Des Moines Tribune* and *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 28, and the *Oskaloosa Herald*, May 30, 1941.

Former State Senator W. C. Kimmel is dead, in the *Sheldon Mail*, May 28, 1941.

The old courthouse of Marion County, in the *Knoxville Journal*, May 29, 1941.

Death of Mrs. Mary Bivin, 99, pioneer of Madison County, in the *Winterset News*, May 29, 1941.

Monument to soldiers of all American wars from Minerva Township, Marshall County, in the Clemons cemetery, in the *State Center Enterprise*, May 29, 1941.

Some pioneer experiences in the "True Tallcorn Tales" series, in the *O'Brien County (Primghar) Bell*, June 4, 1941.

Charters and records of disbanded G.A.R. posts are assembled at Des Moines, in the *Des Moines Register*, June 4, 1941.

Stock certificates dated 1865 of Eldora & Steamboat Rock Coal Company found, in the *Eldora Herald-Ledger*, June 5, 1941.

Douglas Miller, messenger and usher in office of Governor Wilson, knew many State officials, in the *Des Moines Register*, June 8, 1941.

History of St. James Lutheran Church at Fort Atkinson, in the *Decorah Public Opinion*, June 10, 1941.

Sketch of Estherville in new directory of the Rock Island Railroad, in the *Estherville Vindicator Republican*, June 10, 1941.

Mrs. Eva Simplot was founder of Edgewood, once a school for domestic arts, in the *Iowa Falls Citizen*, June 10, 1941.

When grasshoppers stopped trains, by C. N. Marvin, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel*, June 10, 1941.

Little Baptist church near Winterset was organized in 1848 as Middle River Church, in the *Cresco Times*, June 11, 1941.

Six-hundred-year-old Indian village site twelve miles north of Alta has been uncovered, in the *Alta Advertiser*, June 12, and the *Des Moines Register*, June 22, 1941.

John A. McIntosh, "Mormon Chief", and the Indians, in the *Elk Horn Review*, June 12, 1941.

The buffalo hunt in the "True Tallcorn Tales" series, in the *Clear Lake Mirror* and the *St. Ansgar Enterprise*, June 12, 1941.

Publication of the memoirs of Mrs. Eleanora Colton, in the *Columbus Junction Gazette*, June 12, 1941.

Remnants of the South in Appanoose County, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, June 12, 1941.

Sketch of the life of Ernest M. Miller, former Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court, in the *Des Moines Register*, June 14, 1941.

Fragment of Iowa 18th Regiment battle flag found, in the *Des Moines Register*, June 15, 1941.

George W. Teed, 92, Webster City pioneer and business man, dies, in the *Webster City Freeman-Journal*, June 18, 1941.

History of Earlham Presbyterian Church, in the *Earlham Echo*, June 19, 1941.

Incidents in the histories of counties in the "True Tallcorn Tales" series, in the *La Porte City Progress-Review*, June 19, and the *O'Brien County (Primghar) Bell*, June 25, 1941.

Death of Dr. Frank G. Coffin, religious leader, and pastor of Madrid Christian Church, in the *Madrid Register-News*, June 19, 1941.

Scotch Grove Presbyterian Church celebrates centennial, in the *Anamosa Journal*, June 19, 1941.

Naming of De Witt, in the *De Witt Observer*, June 19, 1941.

The old Fayette House, in the *Fayette Leader*, June 19, 1941.

The Ivanhoe bridge on the Old Military Road in Linn County, by Bayne Freeland, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, June 22, 1941.

Death of Clarke County's last Civil War veteran, Theodore F. Yetts, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, June 25, 1941.

Lattimer's Grove was once popular stage station, in the *Blakesburg Excelsior*, June 26, 1941.

Elliott Taylor, Commander of the Department of Iowa Grand Army of the Republic, is honored at Fairfield, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, June 26, 1941.

First Quaker family came to Iowa in 1835, in the *Richland Clarion*, June 26, 1941.

Recollections of fifty years ago, by William G. Kerr, in the *Grundy Register* (Grundy Center), June 26, 1941.

Diary of Cedar Rapids pioneer, Frank G. Clark, describes battle of Gettysburg, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, June 29, 1941.

The Pioneers' Club of Woodbury County, in the *Sioux City Journal*, June 29, 1941.

The first church in O'Brien County, by C. N. McMillan, in the *O'Brien County (Primghar) Bell*, July 2, 1941.

Death of Mrs. Ellen Doolittle, 102, pioneer of Iowa, in the *Central City News-Letter*, July 3, 1941.

A Fourth of July celebration in 1861, in the *Charles City Press*, July 3, 1941.

Housing conditions in Webster City in 1858, in the *Webster City Freeman-Journal*, July 7, 1941.

Sketch of the life of C. N. Marvin, writer for the *Shenandoah Sentinel* and former publisher, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel*, July 9, 1941.

Early newspaper history of Webster City, in the *Webster City Freeman-Journal*, July 9, 1941.

Historical sketch of Mason City and how it got its name, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, July 10, 1941.

De Soto's discovery of Mississippi River celebrated, in the *Clinton Herald*, July 10, 1941.

Sketch of life of H. K. Evans, former Congressman and well-known Corydon attorney, in the *Des Moines Register*, July 10, 1941.

Mrs. William Hausberg, 99, has been resident of Charles City for eighty-four years, in the *Charles City Press*, July 11, 1941.

Coggon Christian Church celebrates 75th year, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, July 11, 1941.

Elmer E. Taylor, Iowa's longest-time editor, by Harvey Ingham, in the *Des Moines Register*, July 15, 1941.

Naming of Manchester, in the *Manchester Press*, July 17, 24, 1941.

Story of the William Scott farms purchased in 1832, in the *Mt. Pleasant Free Press*, July 17, 1941.

Death of Mrs. Ellen Haggin, "covered wagon pioneer", in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, July 17, 1941.

History of the Friends Church at Stuart, in the *Stuart Herald*, July 17, 1941.

Ottawa City once sold 2600 lots, in the *Grinnell Herald Register*, July 21, 1941.

Death of H. C. Ring, district court judge and former Representative, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, July 22, 1941.

Discovery of "Town Book of Putnam Township, Fayette Co., Iowa", in the *West Union Argo Gazette*, July 23, 1941.

Episode of pioneer mail-carrier, in the *Alden Times*, July 24, 1941.

How Marengo was named, in the *Marengo Pioneer-Republican*, July 24, 1941.

Camanche celebrates 105th anniversary, in the *Davenport Democrat*, July 27, 1941.

The Swedesburg Diamond Jubilee, in the *Mt. Pleasant News*, July 28, 1941.

Organization of the Association of Early Settlers of Polk County in 1868, in the *Altoona Herald*, July 31, 1941.

Activities of Polk County centennial reveal history of county, in the *Altoona Herald*, July 31, 1941.

Historical sketches pertaining to Sioux Center, by Anthony Te Paske, in the historical supplement of the *Sioux Center News*, July 31, 1941.

Delhi as it was in 1869, in the *Manchester Press*, July 31, 1941.

Abraham Lincoln made visit in Chariton, in the *Ackley World-Journal*, July 31, 1941.

Historical sketches relating to Ringgold County, in the *Ringgold County Bulletin* (Mount Ayr), August, 1941.

Van Buren people gather at Stockport to recall early Iowa, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 3, 1941.

Death of R. J. Reaney, former Representative, in the *Columbus Junction Gazette*, August 7, 1941.

Death of District Judge M. E. Hutchison of Lake City, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 6, and the *Lake City Graphic*, August 7, 1941.

Pioneer stories of Hamilton and Webster counties, by Fred C. Runkle, in the *Randall Review*, August 7, 1941.

Cherokee to have Tiel Sanford memorial historical building, in the *Cherokee Courier*, August 7, 1941.

Naming of Anamosa, in the *Anamosa Journal*, August 7, 1941.

Mrs. Louine Bierbaum, 100, tells of long journey to Galena in 1860's, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, August 9, 1941.

Some military history of Council Bluffs, in the *Omaha World-Herald*, August 10, 1941.

Stones from old millrace used in Clermont Memorial, by Blanche M. Beall, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, August 10, 1941.

The Rath Packing Company celebrates its fiftieth anniversary, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 12, 1941 .

Some genealogical history of the Swan family, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, August 12, 1941.

Honorary chiefs of Sac and Fox tribe, composed of white men, have special tepee at pow wow near Tama, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, August 12, 1941.

One hundred years change De Witt from trading post to thriving city, in the *Clinton Herald*, August 14, 1941.

An old horse power threshing machine kept by Morris family, in the *Van Buren Record* (Bonaparte), August 14, 1941.

Dr. John Riley practiced medicine in Exira for sixty-one years, in the *Audubon Advocate-Republican*, August 14, 1941.

William F. Coultas, former Emmetsburg resident, is member of "Lost World" expedition, in the *Emmetsburg Reporter*, August 14, 1941.

Monument to Rudolph Oertli in the Deep River cemetery came from Switzerland, in the *Brooklyn Chronicle*, August 14, 1941.

- Sketch of the life of Dr. Th. T. Naae, in the *Graettinger Times*, August 14, 1941.
- The first hanging in Tama County in the "True Tallcorn Tales" series, in the *Clear Lake Mirror*, August 14, 1941.
- The first automobile in Mount Vernon, in the *Mt. Vernon Record*, August 14, 1941.
- Fifty-eighth wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Easterly, in the *Charles City Press*, August 14, 1941.
- Death of Brigadier General Harry E. Wilkins, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 16, 1941.
- Exhibit of historical works of art made in or imported into Iowa in the last hundred years, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 16, 1941.
- "Mother" Orange, 100, once operated boarding house in Centerville, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, August 16, 1941.
- Retirement of George F. Kay, dean of the College of Liberal Arts in University of Iowa, by Donald Grant, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 17, 1941.
- Mesquakie lore studied by two clergymen at Tama, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 17, 1941.
- Mrs. Annie Newcomer Mills was born in Des Moines in 1845, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 17, 1941.
- Lincoln family of Iowa traces genealogy to year 1190, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune*, August 18, 1941.
- Sketch of the life of Horace G. McMillan, active in journalism and politics, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, August 18, and the *Sioux City Journal*, August 19, 1941.
- Dr. Charles R. Keyes rediscovers the site of mill operated by Jefferson Davis, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 19, and the *Ossian Bee*, August 28, 1941.
- Mrs. Lee Talbot won blue ribbon as winner of riding match in Iowa State Fair seventy years ago, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, August 19, 1941.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Villa Louis, the historic home of Col. Hercules L. Dousman at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, was formally opened as an historic site on May 17 and 18, 1941.

The Indiana Historical Bureau is preparing a list of all historical markers erected in the various counties in that State in order to bring up-to-date the list of such public memorials.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for August contains a list of the annual pilgrimages sponsored by the Indiana Historical Society since 1919. It has been decided that no pilgrimage will be held in the fall of 1941.

At the monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society held at New Orleans on May 27, 1941, the president of the Society, Edward Alexander Parsons, presented a bibliographical sketch entitled "Louisiana-Americana, The French Regime".

Dr. Edward P. Alexander, a graduate of Drake University in 1928, has been appointed Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, succeeding Dr. Joseph Schafer who died on January 27, 1941. Previous to his appointment, Dr. Alexander served as Director of the New York State Historical Association.

The *Indiana Magazine of History* announces the retirement of William O. Lynch as editor of that publication, a position he has held since 1928. He also retires from his position as professor of history at Indiana University. Dr. John D. Barnhart, of Louisiana State University, is to succeed Mr. Lynch.

The Kansas legislature has made provision for the purchase, restoration, and repair of the old Iowa, Sauk, and Fox Indian mission building near Highland, Doniphan County, Kansas. The building and a tract of some fifteen acres set aside for a public park will be in charge of a board of trustees.

The Central States Branch of the American Anthropological Association and the Society for American Archaeology held a joint session at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on May 9-10, 1941. Dr. Charles R. Keyes, archaeologist sponsored by the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave a report on "The Broken Kettle and Kimball Village Sites".

The recent session of the Minnesota legislature established a new State board made up of the Director of State Parks, the Commissioner of Highways, and the Superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, or their representatives. The board is designated as the Minnesota Historic Sites and Markers Commission and it will, among other duties, supervise the erection of markers for historic sites.

The December meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held at Chicago. Roy M. Robbins, Butler University, is the program chairman. The annual meeting for 1942 will be held at Lexington, Kentucky. Huntley Dupre, University of Kentucky, and F. G. Davenport, Transylvania University, are co-chairmen of the committee on local arrangements for this meeting and Philip D. Jordan, Miami University, is chairman of the program committee.

Columbia University and the New York Historical Society are jointly sponsoring a seminar on "Resources and Methods of the American Historical Society Library and Museum", to be given by A. J. Wall, the Society's Director. The course, limited to ten approved Columbia students, will include lectures on collecting and preserving historical materials, on other activities, such as cataloguing, binding, and microfilming, and on the construction and arrangement of the buildings used by the historical societies and museums.

On July 26th the Minnesota Historical Society held its nineteenth annual tour and historical convention, commemorating on this occasion the signing of the treaty of Traverse des Sioux on July 23, 1851. Governor Harold E. Stassen spoke at the site of the treaty signing on "Traverse des Sioux Yesterday and Today".

The speaker at the luncheon was Dr. William L. Strunk whose subject was "The Big Woods". Mrs. Grace Flandrau was the evening speaker and her theme was "The Flandrau Family and St. Peter".

On September 15 and 16, 1941, Oklahoma celebrated the forty-eighth anniversary of the opening of the Cherokee Strip. Ponca City was the center of the celebration and the program included the re-dedication of Bryant Baker's statue in honor of pioneer women. The chief address at the ceremony was delivered by Governor Leon C. Phillips of Oklahoma. Representatives of the historical societies of some States whose citizens entered Oklahoma in 1893 laid wreaths at the foot of the statue. The State Historical Society of Iowa was represented by Mr. Frank Phillips, a former Iowan and a long-time member of the Society, who spoke as follows:

"It affords me great honor and deep pleasure to participate today in the Re-dedication Ceremony of the Cherokee Strip Celebration. Representing The State Historical Society of Iowa, of which organization I have been a member for many years, I place this wreath at the base of the Statue of the Pioneer Woman.

"It seems fitting that I should do this, in humble but proud tribute to my ancestors who pioneered this country from coast to coast, and further in view of the fact that I was reared in Iowa, coming from there to Indian Territory in 1903.

"I am sincerely grateful for the privilege of being here on this occasion."

The Illinois State Historical Society held its forty-second annual meeting at Rock Island on May 1, 2, and 3, 1941. The first meeting was held at Augustana College and was called to order by O. L. Nordstrom, president of the Augustana Historical Society. At this meeting Mrs. Helen Stone delivered a lecture on "Artists of Rock Island County". The annual business meeting was held on May second. John H. Hauberg was elected president and presided at a complimentary luncheon at Augustana College. Dr. Conrad Bergendoff, president of the college, spoke on the history of the college and following the luncheon a boulder marking the Indian boundary

designated by a treaty of 1816 with the Potawatomi was dedicated. This service was followed by a boat trip to Campbell's Island as guests of the new president. The principal address at the dinner at the Fort Armstrong Hotel was given by T. V. Smith on the subject, "American Democracy in Historical Perspective". On the third day, the members visited the Indian collection of Mr. and Mrs. Hauberg in the Black Hawk Park Museum,

IOWA

The Pocahontas County Historical Society sponsored the old settlers' reunion held at Pocahontas on August 14, 1941.

Sioux Center commemorated its fiftieth year by a celebration and pageant on July 30 and 31, 1941. Displays of old-time articles added to the program.

Chen-Ya-Ta is the Sioux word used to designate an Indian village site some twelve miles north of Alta which has been partially excavated by F. L. Van Voorhis.

The Wyoming Historical Society held its seventeenth annual meeting at Anamosa on August 19, 1941. John Wherry was elected president and Miss Emma Alden was named secretary-treasurer.

The historic town of Le Claire celebrated a "Riveresta" on July 31 and August 1 and 2, 1941. The occasion was the dedication of Green Tree Park and in honor of William F. Cody ("Buffalo Bill"), who was born in Le Claire.

Columbus City staged a celebration and an historical pageant on June 19, 1941, in honor of the centennial anniversary of the community. Judge Oscar Hale spoke on the early history of Louisa County and Governor George A. Wilson delivered an address.

The Warren County Historical Society is making a collection of local historical materials, including a file of the *Indianola Advocate-Tribune* for 1881-1901, photographs, record books, and other items. Some of these things were displayed by the Society at the county fair at Indianola on August 4-7, 1941.

During the week of June 22-29, 1941, the Trinity Methodist

Church at Primghar celebrated the seventieth anniversary of the establishment of the first church in O'Brien County, held in a sod cabin. Among the speakers was the Reverend J. Ralph Magee, Bishop of the Des Moines Area of the Methodist Church.

A number of residents interested in local history met at Moulton on August 18, 1941, and organized the Appanoose County Historical Society. The newly elected officers are: J. R. Barkley, president; J. M. Beck and Ira Perjue, vice presidents; Mrs. G. A. McKenzie, secretary; and Chas. B. De Puy, press secretary.

The Adair County Historical Society held its annual picnic at the park in Greenfield on June 8, 1941. The annual business meeting was held at the same place on July 20th. Byron Sulgrove was chosen president, Dr. R. H. Gregory, first vice president, J. C. Eatinger, second vice president, and Mrs. C. F. Hulbert, recording secretary.

The fifty-fifth annual meeting of the old settlers of Madison and Warren counties was held at St. Charles on August 14, 1941. Stanley E. Prall of Indianola gave the main address. Milton G. Patrick was named president, Chas. Kinnaird vice president from Madison County, Wm. H. Shannon vice president from Warren County, H. A. Mueller secretary, and Geo. D. Smith treasurer.

The thirty-seventh meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held at Winterset on April 29, 1941. This year the meeting was in the form of a banquet. Officers elected for 1941-1942 were: H. A. Mueller, president; Charles Tucker, vice president; Mrs. Fred Hartsook, secretary; and Mrs. Fred Lewis, treasurer. Mr. Mueller has served as president since the organization of the Society.

On May 30, 1941, the Oskaloosa chapter of the D. A. R. dedicated a marker at the grave of Richard J. Scarrem, only Revolutionary War veteran known to be buried in Mahaska County. The grave is in a memorial park in the Highland cemetery at Eddyville. The marker was unveiled by A. E. Augustine, the flag pole was dedicated by J. Fred Bower, and the memorial park, pro-

vided by the city, was dedicated by the Reverend A. S. Kilbourn of Denmark.

The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Antonin Dvorak, August 31, 1941, was the occasion for a celebration at Spillville, where he spent the summer of 1893 and composed part of his "New World Symphony". Highlight of the occasion was a concert of Dvorak music presented by a symphony orchestra from St. Paul and Minneapolis under the direction of Frank J. Kovarik, a son of J. J. Kovarik of Spillville, the friend who had invited the composer to Spillville.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society; Dr. J. William Dulin, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Everett D. Graff, Winnetka, Illinois; Rev. H. K. Hawley, Winter Park, Florida; Mr. Wright Howes, Chicago, Illinois; Mr. Russell F. Lundy, Des Moines, Iowa; Dr. John Maxwell, What Cheer, Iowa; Mr. Hugh W. Parker, Greeley, Iowa; Mr. S. S. Reque, Decorah, Iowa; Mr. G. M. Trout, East Lansing, Michigan; Miss Gretchen L. Beckman, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Edward Gingerich, Wellman, Iowa; Mrs. M. L. Hutton, St. Petersburg, Florida; Miss Frances E. Jack, West Liberty, Iowa; Mr. W. Z. Proctor, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Joseph B. Steele, Postville, Iowa; Mr. Ray R. Douglass, Postville, Iowa; Mr. Herman A. Lange, Scotch Grove, Iowa; Mr. Harold Lees, Bradgate, Iowa; Mr. Geo. J. McCabe, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Dale L. Maffitt, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Minna Roedell, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. James M. Stewart, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Walter M. Sutton, Sewickley, Pa.; Miss Emma R. Trenk, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. Horace Van Metre, Waterloo, Iowa; Mrs. Frank Bartlett, Perry, Iowa; Mr. Paul C. Benedict, Iowa City, Iowa; Mrs. Ethel Baker Brandt, La Union, New Mexico; Mrs. Arthur H. Briggs, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. Robert Buckmaster, Waterloo, Iowa; Mr. Max H. Christie, Iowa City, Iowa; Mrs. U. G. Dawson, Sigourney, Iowa; Mr. Glenn R. Downing, McGregor, Iowa; Miss Ethel C. Dunn, Clinton, Iowa; Miss Charlotte L. James, Fairfield, Iowa; Mrs. Leslie H. Schrubbe, Waterloo, Iowa; Mr. Harry C. Voss,

Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. David P. Weaver, Des Moines, Iowa; and Mrs. Mildred Nelson Welty, Fernald, Iowa.

The following persons have been enrolled as life members of the Society: Dr. A. W. Bennett, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. C. F. Butler, Springville, Iowa; Mr. George Clearman, Oxford, Iowa; Dr. Edward J. Harnagel, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Will J. Hayek, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. P. F. Keehn, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Miss Adda P. Mershon, Des Moines, Iowa; Dr. Henry G. Moershel, Homestead, Iowa; Rev. Edward Neuzil, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. R. L. Parsons, Iowa City, Iowa; Mrs. M. Russell Perkins, Santa Barbara, Calif.; Dr. Mary L. Tinley, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. E. B. Wilson, Jefferson, Iowa; Mr. Francis R. Aumann, Columbus, Ohio; Mrs. Charles W. Boegel, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Chas. W. Dau, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. David W. Knepper, Columbus, Miss., Miss Martha McClure, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa; Mr. Charles Rhinehart, Dallas Center, Iowa; and Dr. Herbert Sugg, Clinton, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The twenty-third annual nature study school was held at McGregor during August 3 to 14, 1941. Glenn W. McMichael was the director in charge.

Some thirty members of the Iowa Authors Club participated in a river trip from Davenport to Clinton on June 7, 1941. Dr. Wm. J. Petersen was in charge of the excursion.

The fifty-fourth annual reunion of old settlers was held at Corydon on August 9, 1941. Royal Holbrook delivered the principal address on the subject, "Early Days in Iowa".

The Grinnell Institute of International Relations, sponsored annually by Grinnell College, was held on June 12-21, 1941. The theme for this session was "What of Future World Order?"

George Young Bear of the Sac and Fox Indians at Tama was the principal speaker at the annual picnic of the early settlers' association of Black Hawk County held at Island Park near Cedar Falls on August 30, 1941. His subject was "The Real Early Settlers".

The nineteenth annual meeting of the Iowa Ornithologists' Union was held at Atlantic on May 10 and 11, 1941. Officers elected were: Dr. Warren N. Keck, president; Mrs. Mary L. Bailey, vice president; and Walter M. Rosene, secretary-treasurer. Fred J. Pierce is the editor of the quarterly.

The Crawford County Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting at Denison on August 21, 1941. Grace Sprecher read a paper written by F. L. Hoffman on the early pioneers. William Keim, Jr., of Dow City, was elected president, F. L. Hoffman, of Denison, secretary, and William Byrnes, of Vail, treasurer.

The Woodbury County Pioneer Club held its annual meeting at Sioux City on May 24, 1941. The chief speaker was T. Max Foster. The new president is Arthur C. Hunt. The club held its closing

meeting at Sioux City on June 28, 1941. Mrs. Gertrude Henderson told the story of the organization and activities of the society.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Rath Packing Company at Waterloo was celebrated during August 11-16, 1941. The occasion was featured by the performance of the show "South of the Mexican Border" and by the induction of John W. Rath into the Sac and Fox tribe of Indians under the name of "Black Hawk". General Hugh S. Johnson was the speaker at the anniversary dinner on August 13th.

Six surviving veterans of the Civil War registered in Des Moines on June 8, 1941, for the sixty-seventh annual encampment of the Iowa Department of the Grand Army of the Republic. They were T. J. Noll, 96, J. M. McHargue, 95, J. S. Merriam, 96, and J. J. Neuman, 94, of Des Moines, Elliott P. Taylor, 95, of Fairfield, and J. M. Gudgel, 96, of Shenandoah. Mr. Taylor was named Department Commander.

A bequest of \$40,000 was included in the will of Maude Tiel Sanford (Mrs. W. A. Sanford) of Cherokee for the purpose of constructing a memorial historical building at Cherokee. It is to be known as the Tiel Sanford Memorial Building in honor of Mrs. Sanford's son, Tiel Sanford, who died in 1924. Three trustees are named to erect the building and to collect historical exhibits to be housed in it.

Bells Mill Park was the site of the fortieth annual reunion of the old settlers of Hamilton and Webster counties held on August 3, 1941. The program was in charge of Albert Bell of Stratford, the 85-year-old son of Isaac Bell, founder of Bellville. The program included tributes to the Swedish pioneers, by John L. Peterson of Webster City and to the Norwegian settlers, by L. J. Tjernagel of Story City, an address by Albert Bell and one by the Reverend Lester Heck of Lehigh on "The American Way of Life". Mr. Bell was re-elected president of the group, A. A. Deo was named vice president, F. C. Runkle secretary, and A. P. Gleason treasurer.

Edgar Rubey Harlan, who served as Curator of the Iowa Histori-

cal, Memorial, and Art Department at Des Moines from 1908 to 1937, died at his home in Des Moines on July 13, 1941, and was buried at Keosauqua. He was born at Spartansburg, Indiana, on February 28, 1869, and came to Van Buren County, Iowa, with his parents in 1873. He completed the law course at Drake University and was admitted to the bar in 1896. Two years later he was elected county attorney of Van Buren County and served until 1902. In 1907 he became Assistant Curator of the Historical Department and upon the death of Charles Aldrich in 1908, he became Acting Curator. A year later the appointment was made permanent. Mr. Harlan was an authority on the Indians of Iowa and was keenly interested in the Meskwaki Indians at Tama. Under his direction the Historical Department built up a valuable museum. He was also interested in writing and editing historical publications and was an active member of various historical, civic, and scientific organizations. He was one of the founders of the American Wild Life School held at McGregor and served for a time as secretary of the first Iowa State Board of Conservation.

CONTRIBUTORS

ELBERT W. HARRINGTON, Department of English and Speech, University of Colorado. Born in DeMotte, Indiana. Attended the public schools at Graettinger, Iowa. Received B. A. degree from Iowa State Teachers College in 1926, an M. A. degree from the State University of Iowa in 1930, with a major in Political Science, and a Ph. D. degree from the same institution in 1938 with a major in Speech and a minor in Political Science. Doctoral dissertation, "The Public Speaking Career of Albert B. Cummins". Taught in Iowa high schools at Keswick, Cedar Falls, and Iowa City, the State Teachers College at River Falls, Wisconsin, the State Teachers College at Mayville, North Dakota, the State University of Iowa, and for the past five years in the University of Colorado. Author of articles in *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*. Member of the National Association of Teachers of Speech and the State Historical Society of Iowa.

ANDREW ESTREM, Red Wing, Minnesota. Born near Cresco, Iowa, on March 6, 1864. Received the B. A. degree from Luther College in 1886, the M. A. degree from Cornell University in 1889, and the Ph. D. degree in 1892 also from Cornell University, majoring in American History. Taught for forty years, the last ten being at Morehead State Teachers College, Morehead, Kentucky. Made a European tour in 1924. Occasional contributor to periodicals.

GUSTAV E. LARSON. Graduated from Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, in 1936 and did graduate work in American history at the University of Minnesota, 1937-1938. Was employed by the United States Engineer Office at Rock Island for research work in connection with floods and navigation of rivers in that vicinity. Is now research technician with National Resources Committee in Washington, D. C.

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